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Volume VI] *October, 1900* [*Number 1*

The

American Historical Review

THE ENGLISH AND DUTCH TOWNS OF NEW NETHERLAND

IN the small trading stations which the Dutch established at Fort Orange and on Manhattan Island it would be useless to look for political conditions. The houses were purely commercial stations occupied during the summer's trading season and deserted in the winter. It was only by an accident to their vessel that a few sailors were compelled to stay on Manhattan Island during the winter of 1613–1614, but from that time the country was never entirely deserted. The company of traders who received a charter under the name of the New Netherland Company obtained exclusive commercial privileges, but no governmental powers. Quite different, however, was the charter of 1621 to the West India Company. This elaborate patent granted political as well as commercial privileges, and had in view the permanent settlement of the country.

The charter gave to the Company the exclusive right to trade upon the west coast of Africa, the entire coast of America from the Straits of Magellan to the extreme north, and all places situated between Africa and America. Within these bounds the Company was to have almost sovereign powers; it could make alliances with princes and natives; it might build forts; it could appoint and discharge civil and military and other public officers "for the preservation of the places, keeping good order, police and justice, and in like manner for the promoting of trade;" and it could "advance the peopling of fruitful and unsettled parts." The stock of the Company was apportioned among the provinces of the Netherlands and its affairs were to be directed by a representative Council of Nineteen. The States General retained some control over the Company and its colonies by commissioning the governors, and approving their instructions, and by requiring reports from time to time.

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Naturally the government established by such a trading company was one which served the ends of immediate commercial necessity, while the ultimate benefit to be derived from increased population and permanent settlement was lost from sight. In 1624, Peter Minuit, the first Director under the Company, arrived, and called together his council of five persons, which, with himself, was to have supreme executive, legislative and judicial powers.[1] For several years the Company offered few inducements to emigrants and as a consequence the colony grew slowly in numbers, although its trade prospered. In 1629 a step toward the encouragement of emigration from the Netherlands was taken by the publication of thirty-one articles of "Freedoms and Exemptions granted by the Assembly of the XIX. of the Privileged West India Company, to all such as shall plant any colonies in New Netherland."[2]

The familiar provisions of these "patroon" concessions need no analysis here, but reference may be made to some of the minor articles concerning individual colonies, which interest us, in the study of the origins of popular government, much more deeply than the elaborate feudal provisions of the patroon system. The articles, in addition to granting to patroons extensive commercial and political privileges, also provided that individual settlers might take up as much land as "they shall be able properly to improve," giving them also the right of fishing and hunting near their settlements, and promising them the protection of the Company against internal and external disturbances. Further, the colonies lying along each river, or on each island, were to appoint deputies to give information of the condition of their colonies to the Commander and Council. These reports were to be made annually and the deputies were to be newly appointed every two years.[3] Thus imbedded in the mass of feudalism of the patroon concessions were two elements which in course of time might have overthrown both the patroon system and the arbitrary government of the Company—the encouragement of the small independent landowners, and the development of representative government. But neither of these results followed immediately. A few of the directors of the West India Company hoped to use the patroon concessions in building up their private fortunes, and establishing for themselves princely estates upon the Company's lands. Thus for a time little encouragement was given to individual settlers.

For nine years the Company continued its narrow policy, and the growth of the colony was retarded by the feudal patroon govern-

[1] O'Callaghan, *History of New Netherland*, I. 100.
[2] O'Callaghan, I. 112–120.
[3] Article XXVIII.

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ments and by the Company's trade monopoly.[1] Information of the feeble state of the settlement was brought to the States General, who, on April 26, 1638, directed the Assembly of the XIX. of the West India Company to take effectual steps in the settlement of their colony by inviting all good inhabitants of the Netherlands by suitable inducements to populate those parts.[2] This action upon the part of the States General had a most beneficial effect upon the future policy of the Company and the welfare of their colony. In the following September trade with the colony was thrown open to all inhabitants of the Netherlands and their allies. Each settler was promised as much land as he and his family could cultivate,[3] while the new freedom of trade made it possible for him to stock his farm and secure supplies from Europe. In these orders, however, there was no provision for local popular government, for all political power, except upon the patroon estates, still remained in the hands of the Company's officials.

The first step toward local self-government came shortly after the orders of 1638. In 1640 the patroon concessions of 1629 were materially modified by a curtailment of the powers and territory of the patroons, by the addition of inducements to smaller colonists, and by the promise of local political privileges.[4] The provisions respecting town government were based upon the customs of Holland, where the form prevailed of nominating a double or triple number of candidates for the village offices, from which the local lord or authority selected a single number to fill the positions. The new provision reads:

"And should it happen that the dwelling-places of private colonists become so numerous as to be accounted towns, villages or cities, the Company shall give orders respecting the subaltern government, magistrates, and ministers of justice, who shall be nominated by the said towns and villages in a triple number of the best qualified, from which a choice and selection is to be made by the Governor and Council; and those shall determine all questions and suits within their district."

This order was subsequently modified so that

"the qualified persons of such cities, villages, and hamlets shall, in such case, be authorized to nominate for the office of magistrates a double number of persons, wherefrom a selection shall seasonably be made by the Director and Council. . . . And justice shall be administered therein according to the style and order of the province of Holland, and the

[1] O'Callaghan, I. 200.

[2] *Documents relating to the Colonial History of New York*, I. 106. Quoted hereafter as *N. Y. Col. Doc.*

[3] O'Callaghan, I. 203.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, I. 119–123.

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cities and manors thereof, to which end the courts there shall follow, as far as the same is possible, the ordinances received here in Amsterdam."[1]

The order of 1640 marks a decided change in the policy of the Company. For the future, instead of encouraging the establishment of patroon estates, the officers of the Company were directed to further the growth of towns and villages composed of independent settlers. The old concentration of all governmental authority in the Director and Council at New Amsterdam was abolished, and in its place was put the Dutch system of local government. Almost at the same time, owing to difficulties with the Indians, the Director was compelled to have recourse to a representative political system. Thus from this time, the political history of New Netherland shows two tendencies, one leading to the extension of local governmental privileges and the other to a system whereby the localities might be represented in the central conduct of affairs. For the present it is our purpose to trace the course of the first tendency, leading to the development of town institutions.

Within the jurisdiction of the New Amsterdam authorities there arose two forms of town government. One was based upon the customs of the Netherlands and developed in the towns settled by the Dutch, while the other was brought into the Dutch territory from New England by English settlers. In one the aristocratic institutions, the local customs and the political lethargy of Holland were reproduced. In the other the democratic spirit of the New England town was dominant. The reason for this division of local government into two forms will become more apparent as we glance at the political practice of the Dutch and the English towns under the New Netherland jurisdiction.

Considering first the Dutch towns, it is interesting to notice the manner of their settlement. Almost all the early land-grants of the West India Company were made to single individuals.[2] There was little preconcerted immigration to the colony by organized bodies of settlers, except to the patroon estates. The settlers rarely had agreements and understandings with one another before settling, and it is doubtful if any community, either of political power or of lands, existed until about 1645.[3] Accident, or ties of blood or race,[4] or the situation of desirable land, or the friendship of individuals were usually the causes which led to the concentration of population in any locality. Throughout all the early period there

[1] O'Callaghan, I. 392–393.

[2] See *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. and XIV., *passim.*

[3] The first grant of political privileges to a Dutch town was made to Breuckelen (Brooklyn), in June, 1646. See Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, I. 45–46.

[4] The Walloons on the present site of Brooklyn, 1623.

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was no conscious settlement of communities by the Dutch agricultural colonists.[1]

The individualism of the Dutch was in strong contrast to the social spirit shown in the English towns. Under the new privileges of 1640 each man could take as much land as he could cultivate, and naturally the result was the separation of farms and homesteads from one another. This made the defence of the scattered plantations so difficult that action was called forth from the home authorities, who saw the advantages of the close settlement of the English towns. In the instructions of July 7, 1645, sent to the Director and Council at New Amsterdam,[2] occurs the significant clause:

> "They shall endeavor as much as possible, that the colonists settle themselves with a certain number of families in some of the most suitable places, in the manner of villages, towns and hamlets, *as the English are in the habit of doing, who thereby live more securely.*"

But the policy was a difficult one to impose upon the colonists. They had no common interest in the land, no local political powers, and although most of the settlers professed a common religious belief, they had but scant opportunity, perhaps little desire, for common religious worship.[3] Thus the early Dutch settlements lacked three controlling forces which among the English contributed to the development of the towns.

What the colonists would not voluntarily agree to, the Director and Company tried to accomplish by rules and ordinances. Orders were passed in 1656 and 1660[4] providing that the inhabitants of each locality should build forts and towns. At Cummunipaw, the settlers who had been driven out by the Indians in 1655 were required by Stuyvesant in 1658 to build their houses in one village.[5] On the Esopus, the settlers showed such reluctance to dwelling in a village, that Stuyvesant was compelled to visit Wiltwyck in person, and there superintend the building of a fort and the apportionment of town lots.[6] In the same year a patent was issued to all who should settle in a new village on Manhattan Island, granting certain lands to each settler, and a local court when the village had obtained a population of twenty or twenty-five families.[7] More than two years passed, however, before a

[1] Thomson's *Long Island* (second ed.) I. 107; Wood, *Long Island*, 81.
[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, I. 160–162.
[3] Brodhead, *History of the State of New York*, I. 614.
[4] *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 206, 234, 368.
[6] Brodhead, I. 642.
[5] *Ibid.*, I. 648.
[7] *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 335.

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population was obtained large enough to entitle them to the political provisions of the patent.[1] It will thus be seen that the town was by no means a spontaneous natural growth among the Dutch. Often it required all the force of Stuyvesant's arbitrary government to compel the colonists to concentrate their settlements. And when the concentration was accomplished, the town does not appear to have developed the autonomous democratic government which arose in the English towns.

By granting lands in severalty, town development was seriously retarded, just as in New England the granting of lands in common encouraged that development. In New Netherland, contrary to the usual New England method, many years often elapsed after the original settlement of a locality, before it obtained political privileges. With the exception of New Haarlem mentioned above, none of the Dutch towns received corporate political rights until a considerable period after settlement.[2]

Having seen that town life developed late and with difficulty among the Dutch, we must now look at the institutions which were finally established in the towns of New Netherland. Following the directions of the Exemptions of 1640, when political privileges were granted to towns, they were based upon the customs of Holland. The first charter granted to a Dutch town, was that to Brooklyn in 1646.[3] From the preliminary recital given therein, it appears that the settlers of Brooklyn had met on May 21, 1646, in accordance with the Exemptions, and had unanimously elected two persons to act as schepens. The election was followed by a unanimous written agreement that if any one should refuse to submit to the lawful authority of the two schepens, he should forfeit the rights he claimed to land in the allotment of the town. In June the Director and Council confirmed this election, and gave the schepens power to select two more persons from the inhabitants to act as additional schepens, if the work of the original officers should be too heavy. In the fall of the same year, the schepens complained to the Director of the onerous nature of their duties, and suggested the name of a person to act as schout. On December 1, the Director and Council gave to Brooklyn a separate schout, and confirmed the nominee of the schepens to that office. These details

[1] O'Callaghan, II. 428.

[2] Bergen settled, 1617; incorporated, 1661. Brooklyn settled, 1623; incorporated, 1646. Flatbush settled, 1623; incorporated, 1654. Beverwyck settled, 1634; incorporated, partially, 1652. Amersfoort settled, 1645 (?); incorporated, 1654. New Utrecht settled, 1657; incorporated, 1661. Wiltwyck settled, 1656; incorporated, 1661. Haarlem settled and incorporated, 1658. Bushwyck settled, 1660; incorporated, 1661.

[3] Stiles, *History of the City of Brooklyn*, I. 45–46.

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are given because they illustrate the manner of election of the local officials; the first two schepens were elected by those having a share in the lands of the town; the schout, on the other hand, was selected by the schepens and confirmed by the Director and Council. Popular election was permitted only in the first choice of officials; thereafter the officers named their successors. We will note this system in detail.

The schout and schepens mentioned in this first charter to a Dutch town are the officers of the local court. The schout corresponded in the main to the modern prosecuting attorney,[1] although at times his duties partook of the nature of those of the sheriff, and at other times he presided over the court.[2] The schepens, whose title is sometimes translated magistrate, exercised both judicial and administrative functions. In the town of Wiltwyck they were to hold fortnightly courts, except during harvest-time, at which they were empowered to try without appeal civil cases where the value in controversy was below fifty guilders. They had jurisdiction of petty criminal offences, *i. e.*, those in which there was no letting of blood, and in matters of greater moment they could apprehend criminals. But in addition to these judicial powers, the schepens had authority similar to those of the New England selectmen or the town-meeting. They could advise the Director and Council to pass orders concerning roads, the enclosure of lands, and the regulation of churches and schools;[3] and in certain cases could make and enforce orders without waiting for the consent of the Director.[4] But no provision was made in the charters granted to the Dutch towns for the direct action of the people in town affairs. There was no recognition of the town-meeting as a local political organization, but all ordinances, even of a local nature, must receive the approval of the Director and Council after they had been passed by the local court.[5]

[1] Brodhead, I. 453–454.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 196; Instructions for Schout of New Amsterdam, April 9, 1660, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 463.

[3] Charter of Wiltwyck, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 196–198.

[4] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 369, 370.

[5] The records are not wholly void of evidence of legislative or administrative activity exercised directly by the people in the Dutch towns before the English conquest. But in the few cases recorded, it appears to have been on extraordinary occasions, and not as an integral part of the local government.

In school and church matters there is some slight evidence of local action. See for Bergen, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 232 and 319. In Brooklyn, on August 30, 1660, the magistrates, "pursuant to an order from the Hon^ble^ Director-General", "convened all the inhabitants of the village of Breuckelen, talked to them and investigated, how much they could together contribute to the salary of D^r^ Selyns" (*N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 479). This sounds little like the independent action of the English town-meetings only a few miles distant from Brooklyn on the Long Island shores.

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We are more intimately concerned with the election of officers than with their powers. The charter of Brooklyn[1] of 1646 shows that the earliest magistrates of that village were elected by those interested in the lands of the town. The same method of electing the first magistrates was adopted in New Haarlem in 1658,[2] and in Bushwick in 1661.[3] In the latter case the inhabitants asked Stuyvesant for lands and political privileges, and were directed to select six persons from whom the Director might select three as magistrates. In other cases, however, the first schepens seem not to have been elected by the people, but to have been named in the charter itself. This was true of the charters of Wiltwyck,[4] Bergen,[5] and Staten Island.[6]

The popular suffrage thus sometimes allowed to the Dutch settlers in the choice of their first magistrates under the town charters, was not continued in subsequent elections. In all cases which I have been able to find, a two-fold restriction was placed upon the towns. First, the magistrates, when changed, were to be elected by the Director and Council at New Amsterdam from a double number of candidates presented to them; and secondly, this nomination was made not by the townspeople, but by the magistrates already in office. A few citations from the many instances in the records will illustrate these restrictions.

In April, 1655, the magistrates of Brooklyn petitioned the Director and Council to be permitted to send in a double number of candidates for new magistrates. The Council in reply directed the magistrates to inform them, "as far as it is in their power, of the character, manners, and expertness of the most respectable individuals of their village and places in its vicinity under their jurisdiction." The magistrates accordingly sent in nominations, from which the Director and Council selected three to act as schepens for the future.[7] In all this transaction there is no mention made of popular election; the magistrates now, instead of the people, make the nominations to the Director and his Council. The Wiltwyck charter contained the provision:

> "Whereas it is customary in our Fatherland and other well-regulated governments, that annually some change take place in the magistracy, so that some new ones are appointed, and some are continued to inform the

[1] Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, I. 45.
[2] *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 335; O'Callaghan, II. 428.
[3] Thompson, *History of Long Island*, second ed., II. 155.
[4] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 196–198.
[5] *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 403.
[6] *Ibid.*, 458.
[7] Stiles, *Hist. of Brooklyn*, I. 111.

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newly appointed, so shall the Schepens, now confirmed, pay due attention to the conversation, conduct, and abilities of honest and decent persons, inhabitants of their respective village, to inform the Director-General and Council, about the time of the next election, as to who might be sufficiently qualified to be then elected by the Director-General and Council."[1]

Again there is no mention of popular election; the magistrates nominate, the Director and Council elect. Similar provisions were inserted in the charters of New Haarlem, Bergen and New Utrecht. Still more limited were the local political powers granted by Governor Colve after the Dutch re-conquest in 1673. The Governor issued an order for the reorganization of the government of the towns of Midwout, Amersfoort, Breuckelen, New Utrecht and Gravesend, in which he reinstated the old form of nomination and confirmation of magistrates:

"Previous to the annual election, the Sheriff and Schepens shall make [a list], in nomination for Schepens, of a double number of the best qualified, honest, intelligent, and wealthiest inhabitants (but only those belonging to, or well affected toward, the Reformed Christian Religion), and shall present it [to] the Governor, who shall then make a selection, and, if he deem it best, confirm some of the old Schepens."[2]

In accordance with the provisions of these charters, the magistrates of the Dutch towns were accustomed to send their nominations to the Director. No reference is made in their letters or in the action of the Director and Council to any elections by the townsmen. The nominations are said to be "made and presented," or "made and submitted" by the schepens, by the commissaries, by the magistrates, by the schout and schepens.[3] These words are quite significant when compared with the letters from the English towns making their double nominations, in which there is usually internal evidence of the suffrage in town-meetings.[4] The Dutch letters give no hint of such popular action, and in place of town elections, the close-corporation system of the Holland towns prevailed.

The conclusion we must come to from all the evidence obtainable is that there were no regular town-meetings among the Dutch, no popular elections for magistrates, and that the magistracy was of the nature of a close corporation, some retiring annually,[5] and their

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 196.

[2] Stiles, *History of Brooklyn*, I. 162.

[3] See *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. and XIV., *passim*; *e. g.*, XIII. 231, 336; XIV. 257, 344, 414, 510, 520, 522, 523.

[4] See *post*, p. 12.

[5] I have been unable to find the principle underlying this practice of partial retirement. See *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 314, 344, 412, 473, etc. For instance of removal for cause, see *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 336.

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places being filled by a selection made by the Director and Council from a double nomination by the acting magistrates.

Turning from the Dutch towns, let us look at the government of the English settlements which grew up under the New Amsterdam jurisdiction, and in which an entirely different political atmosphere existed. The earliest mention of settlement by the English within the Dutch territory is in 1640, when eight Englishmen settled near the present site of Hempstead, having bought title to the land from Farret, the American representative of Lord Stirling.[1] The English intruders were arrested by the Dutch and imprisoned in New Amsterdam; but they were subsequently released upon their promise to leave the jurisdiction.[2] The next year, 1641, in response to an inquiry from some Englishmen as to terms of settlement, the reply was made that they would be allowed to select four or five of their ablest men, from whom the governor of the Dutch would select a single magistrate.[3] This exaggerated form of the multiple nominating system would have given the English less liberal government than that later granted to the Dutch towns; but the terms were not accepted.

Soon, however, a marked immigration set into the Dutch territories from New England. In 1642 and the years immediately following, a number of English settlers reached western Long Island.[4] They were well received by Director Kieft, who gave them tracts of land, and authorized the establishment of town governments. Before Brooklyn received its separate local court in 1646, Kieft had granted charters of incorporation to four English towns: Mespath (Newtown),[5] Hempstead,[6] Vlissingen (Flushing)[7] and Gravesend.[8] These charters, granted almost immediately after the settlements were made, defined the territory of the patentees and provided for their political organization. All four antedated the earliest Dutch town charter, and this fact is strong evidence that the communal spirit was more intense among the English than among the Dutch. Ten or twenty years might elapse in the life of the Dutch settlements before they received incorporation or any local govern-

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, II. 145–150; Flint, *Early Long Island*, 120. Lord Stirling had received from the Plymouth Company a patent for Long Island, and his agent, Farret, sold patents for land on the island to New Englanders. Stirling's patent is printed in *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 29, note.

[2] Subsequently they settled Southampton in eastern Long Island.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 8.

[4] In *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, I. 181, is a Dutch statement of the causes of this English immigration.

[5] March 28, 1642.

[6] November 16, 1644.

[7] October 10, 1645.

[8] December 19, 1645.

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ment whatever. With the English the corporate town life began before or immediately after settlement. In the same way the communal ownership of lands and common interest in religious worship date, in the English towns, from the time of settlement, while in the Dutch towns they developed long after the original settlement.

Further, the charters of the English towns differed from the ordinances which established local government in the Dutch settlements in several important particulars. The English charters were granted to companies of individuals who had usually formed an agreement before their settlement, while the Dutch settlers were often forced into an agreement, and compelled to take up lands in common,[1] at the dictation of the Director and against their own will. The English charters gave the settlers power to form "a bodye politique and ciuill combination," [2] to which they, and their associates, heirs and successors were to belong. In the case of Gravesend, the power was also given "to make such civill ordinances as the Maior part of the Inhabitants free of the Towne shall thinke fitting for theyr quiett and peaceable subsisting," thus recognizing the town-meeting as an integral part of the local government.

The local officials provided for by these charters were called by varying names—magistrates, "some of theirs," schepens—but their duties corresponded to the judicial duties of the officers of the Dutch local court. All the charters required the officers to be named to the Director and Council for confirmation. No direct mention is made of a double nominating system, such as was given to the Dutch towns, but by subsequent practice three of the towns always presented double nominations to the Director and Council; while Gravesend alone was permitted the privilege of presenting a single number of candidates.[3] We have seen that the candidates in the Dutch towns were selected by the outgoing magistrates. In the English charters, the patentees, their associates and successors are given that power; thus vesting the election of officers in the people.[4]

In addition to the features in which the English town charters differed from the Dutch, there were of course points of similarity.

[1] This was true at Cummunipaw, at Wiltwyck on the upper Hudson, and was attempted without success among the conquered Swedes on the Schuylkill at Passayung.

[2] Gravesend charter in *Documentary History of New York*, I. 629–632. Similar provision in Hempstead charter; Thompson, *History of Long Island*, second ed., II. 4–6.

[3] This extraordinary feature was carried out in practice; see *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV 130, 329, 343, 422, etc.

[4] True of the first charter granted to an English town, Mespath, in 1642 (four years before a Dutch town received local government). *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 38. See the other charters as well.

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Both were granted freedom to practise the Reformed Christian religion; the same system of appeals to the Director and Council was provided for; towns must be built; fortifications erected; allegiance must be given to the West India Company and the States General; and after a period of years, taxes were to be paid to the Company.[1]

In the practice of government under the charters of the English towns, we find a much closer similarity to the local institutions of New England than to those of New Netherland. The affairs of the town were determined in town-meeting. There the people made local rules, granted lands, determined the suffrage, and elected their candidates to office. The letters presenting to the Director and Council the new nominations are not signed by the outgoing schout and schepens, but by the clerks of the towns.[2] They usually state that the nomination is "made and submitted," "by the inhabitants of said village," "by the whole community," "by the inhabitants by a plurality of votes," or similar expressions implying popular election.[3] Thus here the whole community acted in the choice of its magistrates; there was no close corporation modelled after the seventeenth-century town-corporations of Holland.

A perusal of the records leads one to the inevitable conclusion that all this democratic political development was peculiarly English. Kieft, indeed, granted these charters, but their terms are so evidently English that we cannot doubt they were dictated by the incoming New Englanders.[4] As the Holland town customs were reproduced in the Dutch towns, so the New England town furnished the model for government in the English towns under Dutch influence. The spirit of popular government came from the English and not from the Dutch settlers.

One of the necessary concomitants of popular government is the suffrage question. For no sooner are elections vested in the people, than the question arises as to the meaning of the word people. In these English towns the New England customs were closely followed in this respect. By the charters, the privilege of the suffrage was conferred upon the original patentees and their associates, and

[1] In 1656 two other groups of English settlers were given town privileges similar, not to the English, but to the Dutch towns; Vreedland (Westchester), *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 65–66; and Rustdorp (Jamaica), *Col. Doc.*, XIV. 339–340.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 329, 343, 346, 425, etc.

[3] See *New York Col. Doc.*, XIV., *passim; e. g.*, 189, 296, 300, 329, 343, 345, 422, 424.

[4] The Gravesend charter has been called a "veritable Dutch charter of civil and religious freedom" (Elting, *Dutch Village Communities on the Hudson River*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, IV. 26). It is Dutch in little else than the fact that a Dutch governor granted it.

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thus by implication, if not by express grant, the original settlers were given power to add to their numbers. These associates, upon receiving their lots and the rights in the common lands, obtained at the same time a voice in the town-meeting.[1] The same privilege might be gained by those who purchased land from the original owners, and to prevent by this means the influx of undesirable inhabitants, it was customary to place restrictions upon the sale of land.[2] In Hempstead, "quakers and such like" were excluded; and letters of commendation and approbation must be brought by persons coming from other towns.[3] Once possessed of land within the town, the owner had an indisputable right to a voice in the town affairs.[4] In all these respects the customs of the New England colonies were closely followed.

It has been mentioned that all four of the early charters to English towns were granted by Kieft. His successor, Stuyvesant, showed no such favorable disposition, but evinced an unremitting opposition to popular government, both in the towns and in representative provincial institutions. His opinions on the subject are preserved in his correspondence concerning the assembly of 1653. Under the influence of the English delegates,[5] the representatives who met at New Amsterdam in 1653 drew up a remonstrance on December 11, in which, among other charges against the government, they say that "Officers and Magistrates, though by their personal qualifications deserving such honors, are appointed, contrary to the laws of Netherland, to divers offices without the consent or nomination of the people whom the matter most affects or concerns."[6] To this demand for popular elections, Stuyvesant answered by admitting the right of the English to nominate their own magistrates, but stated also that some of them even usurped "the election and appointment of such Magistrates, as they please, without regard to their religion. Some, especially the people of Gravesend, elect libertines and Anabaptists, which is decidedly against the laws of the Netherlands."[7] The Director further questioned the advisability of popular elections, for "if it is to be made a rule, that the selection and nomination shall be left to the people generally, whom it most concerns, then every one would want for Magistrate

[1] In Hempstead, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 529.

[2] In Gravesend, owners of land desiring to sell must first offer the land to the town; and after the town's refusal to purchase, they could sell to an outsider if he were not an infamous person or a disturber of the common peace. *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 128–129.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 529.

[4] See the demands of some Dutch landholders in Gravesend, *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 329.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, I. 553.

[6] *Ibid.*, I. 552.

[7] *Ibid.*, XIV. 235.

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a man of his own stamp, for instance a thief would choose for Magistrate a thief, and a dishonest man, a drunkard, a smuggler, etc., their likes, in order to commit felonies and frauds with so much more freedom."[1] Early in the next year the Director and Council, following out their policy of opposition to popular government, required the magistrates and inhabitants of Gravesend to prove by their charter their right to nominate and elect magistrates and to continue them in office.[2]

The evils of popular government as he saw them must have influenced Stuyvesant in his grants to the two new English towns patented in 1656. Thomas Wheeler and the other English settlers at Westchester (Vreedland) had informed the New Amsterdam authorities that they would submit to the Dutch jurisdiction if they could have the privilege of choosing their officers, of making laws for the good of the township, of distributing lands, and of making choice of new inhabitants. To these demands they received the reply that they might have the "conditions and patents" of the Dutch villages of Middelburg, Amersfoort, Midwout and Breuckelen, and also the right of nominating a double number of candidates for office.[3] The English remained, however, and seem to have interpreted their rights under this grant to suit themselves.[4] In the same year Rustdorp (Jamaica) on Long Island was incorporated "under the same privileges and exemptions and special grants, as the inhabitants of New Netherlands generally enjoy, as well in the possession of their lands, as in the election of their Magistrates on the footing and order in use in the villages of Middelburg, Breuckelen, Midwout and Amersfoort."[5] In this case, also, the English held their town-meetings, and we have left to us some very interesting town orders concerning the allotment of the town lands and the reaping of the common meadow.[6] Both charters of Stuyvesant show his determination to give no more special privileges to the English settlers.[7]

[1] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 235.

[2] *Ibid.*, 253. In 1655 objections were made to a town election of Gravesend by some Dutch landholders in the town because votes were cast in the names of persons in prison for crimes, of persons who had left the town, and those who had conspired against the government of the country. *Ibid.*, XIV. 330.

[3] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIII. 65–66.

[4] Bolton, *History of Westchester County*, revised ed., II. 279–281.

[5] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 339–340.

[6] *Ibid.*, 504–506.

[7] In Flushing, owing to the large number of Quakers who had settled there, Stuyvesant found a good opportunity to repress popular government. Town-meetings were forbidden, and their place was to be taken by seven tribunes elected once and for all, who were to act as counsellors of the schout and magistrates. *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 338.

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One other illustration of Stuyvesant's policy in local government is to be found in his negotiations with a party of Milford Englishmen, who proposed leaving their homes rather than agree to the union of Connecticut and New Haven. The intending settlers asked permission to control their own civil affairs, elect their magistrates, and make such laws as seemed to them suitable. Stuyvesant at first replied that they might have privileges equal to those of the Dutch towns; the double nomination of magistrates, and the passage of laws by the magistrates with the consent of the Director and Council; but he refused the power to choose their own inhabitants. The answer was not satisfactory to the New Englanders, for it did not state the manner of election of the magistrates, did not grant legislative powers to the town-meeting, and refused the privilege of admitting their own inhabitants. But the West India Company was at this time favoring the immigration of English dissenters, and accordingly, in May, 1662, Stuyvesant modified his former proposition, and granted practically all the demands of the English.[1]

Stuyvesant's whole policy appears essentially different from that of Kieft. The latter encouraged English immigration and allowed the settlers to choose their own form of local self-government, although at the same time he was governing all the Dutch settlements on the Delaware, on the Hudson, and on Long Island arbitrarily, and without a hint of any popular control in local affairs. Stuyvesant, on the other hand, incorporated many of the Dutch villages, but according to the Dutch, and not the English model. A close corporation was established in each of the Dutch towns, which reproduced in miniature the aristocratic organization of the Netherland towns of that day. There was naturally an inconsistency in allowing the English strangers greater liberty than the native Dutch citizens, and this may account in part for Stuyvesant's opposi-

[1] Stuyvesant's second letter is a curious document: "The Governour and Counsel doe give Consent that the aforesaid *English* Nation beinge setlet vnder this government shal have power by the most vote of the Churches members, to nominate their owne Magistrates, in such a quantity as they shall thinck most meete and needfull for their towne or Townes, which Magistrates with the freemen shal be Impoured, to make such Lawes and Ordinances, as occasion shal require, which lawes and ordinances after Examination beinge found not oppugnant to the general Lawes of the Vnited *Belgick* and this Province shal by the Governour and Counsel be Ratified and Confirmed vnto them, only the Governour and Counsel doe Reserve the Appeale of Criminel and Civil Sentences above the Sum of fifty pound Sterlinge, without Reformation or appeale to that Sum, for all such Inhabitans as therevnto shal Subschrybe and the Confirmation of the Magistrates out of dubbel Number jearly to be presented vnto them, out of which dubbel Number with advyce or Communication of the old Magistrates or their deputies the followinge Magistrates by the Governour and Counsel then beinge shal be Confirmed." *Col. Doc.*, XIII. 222. The projected removal did not take place until after the English occupation.

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tion to the English towns.[1] But there must have been other reasons as well. Stuyvesant's own words criticizing popular government have already been given; and we must also remember that the English were beginning to demand a total separation from the Dutch, and a combination with the English of Connecticut and New Haven.

We have thus far traced the features of local government in the two classes of towns under the Dutch government, but in closing, mention must be made of the local government of New Amsterdam itself. From the first settlement of Manhattan Island down to the year 1649 the records show no demand upon the part of the inhabitants of New Amsterdam for local governmental powers distinct from those of the Company's officials. In 1649 the representative body of the Nine Men sent a letter to the States General depicting the "very poor and most low condition" of the province, and asking for a redress of their grievances. Among the reforms which they thought would encourage population and promote prosperity was the establishment of a "suitable municipal government."[2] A commission of three men was appointed to take this petition and a lengthy remonstrance against the government of Kieft and Stuyvesant to Holland.[3] After an elaborate investigation by the States General, a committee of that body reported a "Provisional Order respecting the Government, Preservation and Peopling of New Netherland."[4] Among the reforms there proposed, we find the first mention of municipal government for New Amsterdam: "XVII. And within the city of New Amsterdam shall be erected a Burgher Government, consisting of a Sheriff, two Burgomasters, and 5 Schepens." This report was not adopted, but the fear of its passage forced the West India Company to make concessions to the inhabitants of New Amsterdam, and on April 4, 1652, Stuyvesant was directed to "erect there a Court of Justice formed, as much as possible, after the custom of this city" [Amsterdam]. The court was to have the officers named in the former provisional order, who were to be chosen from the "honest and respectable" persons of the settlement, the Directors expressing the hope that some of such persons could be found among the burghers.[5]

Ten months passed after the dating of this instruction to Stuyvesant before the latter inaugurated the new city government.

[1] In one of his letters, Stuyvesant says: "It ought to be remembered that the Englishmen . . . enjoy more privileges than the Exemptions of New Netherland grant to any Hollander." *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 233.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, I. 260.

[3] Brodhead, I. 506–507.

[4] *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, I. 598; *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, I. 387–391.

[5] *Doc. Hist. of N. Y.*, I. 599–600.

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When he was ready to take that step, he allowed no popular election of the officials, but appointed the two burgomasters and five schepens and directed that the Company's sheriff should act as schout for the city.[1] In 1654[2] and 1656[3] the burgomasters and schepens of New Amsterdam petitioned for the privilege of nominating a double number of candidates as their successors. In January of the latter year, Stuyvesant agreed to such a double nomination upon the condition that the acting magistrates should always be considered as in nomination; that the nominees should be well qualified persons, favorable to the Director and Council; and that a member of the Council should be present at the meeting when the burgomasters and schepens made the nominations.[4] Under this arrangement the local officials were annually elected until the coming of the English.

Here again the influence of the Holland customs is seen. In the Middle Ages the towns and cities of the Low Countries had acquired democratic governments, but by the seventeenth century these had been gradually undermined by aristocratic classes. Popular elections had given way to close corporations and systems of double or triple nomination.[5] And these were the institutions which were now established in New Amsterdam. There was no popular election, but the outgoing magistrates nominated a double number for their successors; and even this nomination was not free, for a member of the Director's council must be present at the election.

Shortly after this, the Director introduced another of the features of Dutch conservatism, in the establishment of a greater and a lesser "burgerregt." The greater burgerregt was held by those who had held, or whose ancestors had held high civil, military or ecclesiastical offices in the city, or who had purchased the right for fifty guilders. The second class, holding the lesser burgerregt, was composed of all born in the city, or who had been resident and kept fire and light for a year and a half, or who kept shop and paid twenty guilders.[6] Only those who possessed the greater burgerregt were eligible to the municipal offices. Thus the government of New Amsterdam was based upon the aristocratic and hereditary features of the constitution of old Amsterdam. There was no place in this scheme for popular government. It provided for a selection

[1] O'Callaghan, II. 212–216; Brodhead, I. 548–549.

[2] *N. Y. Col. Doc.*, XIV. 244.

[3] O'Callaghan, II. 311.

[4] *Records of New Amsterdam*, II. 16, 24–29, 282–286; O'Callaghan, II. 370. A separate schout for New Amsterdam was not appointed until 1660.

[5] J. F. Jameson, *Mag. Amer. Hist.*, VIII. 321.

[6] *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 299–301.

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by the outgoing magistrates of a double number of candidates from a very small class of the citizens, and an election by the Director and Council of the requisite number from these candidates and from the old officers. In principle it was the same system as that which we have seen was established in the Dutch towns of New Netherland.

From the facts here given, the following conclusions may be drawn concerning the local government of New Netherland: (1) The Dutch settlements showed slight communal feeling; were with difficulty concentrated into towns; developed little political activity or interest; and finally received (rather than demanded) a form of government which gave scant room for popular control. (2) The English settlements under the Dutch jurisdiction showed a common interest from the first; received land-grants in common; undertook political functions almost unconsciously; demanded and usually received far greater privileges from the Director and Council than were given to the Dutch towns. (3) Although Director Kieft granted liberal charters to the English, Stuyvesant was opposed to this policy, and attempted to cut down the privileges which his predecessor had conceded. After the favoritism shown in the first few years to the English, the attitude of the New Amsterdam authorities changed, and under Stuyvesant there was a continuous opposition to popular government in Dutch and English towns.

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SOME POLITICAL ASPECTS OF HOMESTEAD LEGISLATION

THE policy of disposing of the public lands of the United States under the principles of the homestead law, first adopted in 1862, was the outgrowth of a long period of discussion and experiment in which nearly all possible plans for the administration of the public domain were advocated and many different schemes tried. Of all the diverse methods of disposal, that which was based upon the homestead principle—free grants to settlers who should live upon and cultivate the lands for a certain time—was the last to secure the approval of Congress. Today it is the generally accepted principle of our land legislation, although the rapid decrease in the arable public domain has much lessened its application. It is this feature of our policy which has secured the almost universal approval of impartial students of this part of American history, the only wonder expressed being that such a policy was not sooner adopted. But this wonder vanishes when we find how closely the public domain has been connected with general political questions and in how many ways the homestead policy was in opposition to the political views of different sections of the country. It is my intention to trace the growth of the sentiment favoring the donation of lands on condition of actual settlement, and to show how and why this plan became involved with other seemingly distinct issues of national policy.

At first the public lands were regarded as the basis of a very large revenue, and the plans for their administration were formed with the intention of making that revenue as great as possible. It was perhaps only natural that such should have been the thought at the time when the new government was inaugurated. The country was deeply in debt, the levying of taxes by the national government was not looked at with favor by the states and the public domain seemed to furnish an easy means whereby the debt could be paid and at the same time heavy taxation avoided. And, while it was felt that the sale of the lands would be advantageous because of the money that it would bring, yet the rapid settlement of the western country was considered neither probable nor desirable. A slow and compact settlement was advocated as best both for the old states

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and the new territories.[1] So the holding of the public lands for a comparatively high price would serve both the financial and the industrial interests of the country, and no change in this policy was likely to come before the growth of the West had forced upon the East the necessity for such a change.

This growth came much more rapidly than anyone had expected. By 1820 the states which had been carved out of the public domain were seven in number (including Missouri) and had a population of 1,224,384, while Kentucky and Tennessee, with 986,906 inhabitants, were likely to add their weight to the interests of the land states. In most things pertaining to the disposal of the public domain the ideas of these new states were radically different from those of the states which had no public land within their boundaries. The new states did not regard with favor the existence in their limits of large tracts of unoccupied land, the policy of whose owner was to make as much money as possible from it, regardless of the rapidity of settlement. This land was only partially subject to their jurisdiction; over it they could exercise neither the right of taxation nor eminent domain. Any policy which would tend to rapid settlement would have been welcomed by the new states, as the lands would then be both occupied and under the jurisdiction of their laws. Two policies which would have tended towards that result were open to the government: the lowering of the price of the lands with an ultimate gratuitous distribution, or the cession of the lands to the states in which they were situated—the primary desire being to get the lands out of the hands of the government as soon as possible.

The first of these policies contained in an imperfect form the homestead principle, although it was to be applied only to lands which had been long in the market and could presumably be disposed of in no other way. The policy of cession to the states would have allowed the lands to be disposed of at prices calculated to induce rapid immigration and would probably have led, through the almost inevitable competition, to state homestead laws. Of these plans the states preferred that of cession, as likely to serve their immediate interests better; but either was out of the question as long as they relied upon their own unaided efforts. They must appeal to the old states, and for this favor it was to the South rather than to the North that they turned.

For the South had always shown evidences of a better feeling for and a more intimate connection with the West. At the time

[1] See letters of Washington to Duane, September 7, 1783, *Writings* (Ford), X. 303; and to Williamson, March 15, 1785, *ibid.*, 446–447.

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when the Confederation was considering plans for the administration of the lands acquired by the state cessions, this division of feeling regarding the West began to appear, the North wishing to retard emigration thither, while the South was inclined to favor it.[1] Such a feeling cannot be said to have been strong, but it continued for nearly fifty years, and during the period from the adoption of the Constitution down to the election of Andrew Jackson it was the South which understood and sympathized with the growing West. The exhibitions of hostility which the West was prone to cite were fancied rather than real, but there can be no doubt that the West was right when it felt that it must turn to the South for aid in its pet enterprises and that the North did not look with favor on its rapid growth.

The causes which led to this connection between the South and West were physiographic. The easiest route across the Appalachian system was from Virginia, through the Great Valley and into Tennessee, or, turning to the northward, down the Kanawha to the Ohio. It was because of this greater ease of communication that the settlers in the West were predominantly Southern until after the war of 1812.[2] And after the emigrants had reached the new country the natural line of traffic from the West to the sea was down the Mississippi and thus through Southern territory. It was not until the advent of the great railroad systems extending from the valley of the Mississippi to the Atlantic coast, after 1850, that this north-and-south route of commerce was changed for an east-and-west one. Nor was it to the economic advantage of the North, devoted as it was to manufacturing, to encourage the emigration which at last began. But to the agricultural South, on the other hand, the spreading and dispersion of population were especially welcome.

The movement for gratuitous distribution of the public lands did not begin until after 1820. Up to that year the minimum price had been $2 an acre, with liberal terms of credit, and this figure was found to be low enough, especially as the money was fre-

[1] *Life of Manasseh Cutler*, I. 135–136. The original plan of the Ordinance of 1785 for the disposal of each township in its entirety before the next could be offered for sale was not embodied in the final form of that document. It has frequently been stated that this plan was strongly favored at the North, and the charges of New England hostility to the West were partly based on such an assumption, but there is nothing in the action of Congress to point to such a conclusion. This clause was struck out on motion of a Southern delegate (McHenry, of Maryland), but there was only one Northern vote (from Rhode Island) in favor of its retention. A later motion to re-insert the provision received one vote from Massachusetts, two from Connecticut, one from New York and one from South Carolina. *Journals of Congress*, IV. 513–515, 519.

[2] See Roosevelt, *Winning of the West*, IV. 220–221.

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quently not paid at all, to insure a fairly rapid settlement of the West. In 1820 the credit system was abolished and the price reduced to $1.25 an acre. This reduction was a step in the right direction, according to the West, but it did not go far enough. If the settlers were to pay cash for their lands that price would, it was maintained, prevent them from coming to the West in any considerable numbers, and the lands would remain in the hands of the government.

The cause of the West in the disposal of the lands was championed by one who came as the first senator from one of the states of the public domain, and who proved a ready advocate for a subject on which he had strong convictions. From 1824 on, Benton was urging upon Congress the reduction and graduation of the price of the lands, and had even gone so far as to propose the donation of them to actual settlers. While he met with but slight success at first he continued his efforts in the belief that public opinion was being educated upon the question.[1] His plan, as presented in a bill introduced in 1826, was for successive annual reductions in the price of lands until twenty-five cents an acre should be reached, after which the remaining lands were to be given to actual settlers. He made no attempt to secure a vote on the bill at this time.[2]

In 1828 Benton came forward with a new bill in which were combined the various western schemes for the disposition of the public lands. The graduation principle was to be applied to lands until they had been in the market for eight years, after which the settler could buy a quarter-section for eight dollars, and the lands which failed to be taken up then were to be ceded to the states.[3] This, said Benton, would please everyone. It would accelerate the sale of the lands and thus the treasury would be benefited; the new states would sooner secure the jurisdiction over the lands, while the donations would aid the poorer classes in securing homes.[4] But in spite of Benton's plea the Senate, by a vote of 21 to 25, refused to order the bill engrossed. Something of the position of the North on emigration and land-distribution can be learned from the fact that the bill did not receive a vote from a state north of Delaware.[5]

The outlook for the homestead plan was not bright, for it was in the Senate, with its proportionally large Southern and Western representation, that the greatest support for such a plan would

[1] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I. 102–103.
[2] *Register of Debates*, II. pt. 1, 567, 719–724.
[3] *Ibid.*, IV. pt. 1, 497.
[4] *Ibid.*, 609, 624–626.
[5] *Senate Journal*, 20th Cong., first session, 323.

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probably be found. But at just about this time the cause of the West was advancing rapidly. The election of Jackson in 1828, although no issue concerning the public lands was involved, brought to the head of the government a person who was in all things likely to favor western demands, and was indicative of the growing power of that section. Nor was the West slow to formulate and increase its demands for changes in the land system. At the close of the year Adams noted with deep concern the "graspings of the western states after all the public lands," as reported to him by Clay, who also strongly disapproved of the idea.[1] Almost at the same time Niles spoke of a "simultaneous movement in several of the western states" which had for its object the acquiring of the public lands by those states.[2]

In spite of the growing strength of the West, Benton was in 1830 not able to secure the assent of the Senate to his bill until it had been amended so that only a reduction to one dollar was provided for. Even in this amended form the North was against the bill and in the vote of 24 to 22 only one vote in its favor came from a state north of Virginia.[3] Benton was, however, satisfied with the concession, as the further reductions in his original bill would not have begun to operate at once and he was confident of securing supplemental legislation from the next Congress.[4] He was very optimistic regarding his plans and maintained that the doctrines of donation to actual settlers and cession to the states had made great progress by 1833.[5] Adams indicated his fears that the old policy regarding the public lands, to which he clung as a New Englander, would be abandoned.[6] But the House with its overwhelming Eastern majority, refused even to consider the bill.[7]

But it is not to the graduation bill but to an innocent-looking resolution offered by Foot, of Connecticut, that we must look for exhibition of the real sentiment on the public lands. This resolution, famous for the debate on the theory of sovereignty which it occasioned, inquired into the advisability of limiting for a time the further sales of the lands. Should the policy to which it pointed be adopted it would be a direct blow at the desires and hopes of the Western states and particularly at the plans advocated by Benton.

[1] Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII. 87–88 (December 31, 1828).

[2] *Niles's Register*, XXXV. 313 (January 10, 1829).

[3] *Senate Journal*, 21st Cong., first session, 292.

[4] *Register of Debates*, VI. pt. 1, 413.

[5] Benton, *Thirty Years' View*, I. 275.

[6] "In conversing with Mr. Rush upon the prospects of the country, we agreed that the Indians are already sacrificed; that the public lands will be given away;" etc. Adams, *Memoirs*, VIII. 229 (May 22, 1830).

[7] *Register of Debates*, VI. pt. 1, 1148.

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That senator was not slow to answer the attack. He assumed at once the position that the North, and particularly New England, had originated this idea, and in more than one fiery speech he denounced the policy which that section had, he asserted, always pursued towards the West. It had constantly desired to limit and restrain the growth of the West; it had attempted to secure the adoption of a land-policy which would only allow of a gradual settlement of that part of the country; it had been willing to surrender the navigation of the Mississippi; it had neglected and even refused to afford the settlers adequate protection from the Indians, and was even now endeavoring to limit emigration that its manufactures might be further developed. And by whom had the West been rescued when the hostile North was thus attempting to crush out its very life? By the South was Benton's answer.[1] We have seen that there was some basis for Benton's assertions, though he was by no means warranted in going as far as he did. But the South was at this time willing to assume the rôle which Benton ascribed to it, and Hayne continued the discussion in much the same strain. From this time the debate forgot the public lands entirely and passed into the wide realm of the interpretation of the Constitution. The fact that a resolution in regard to the disposal of the public lands could cause such a constitutional discussion shows to what an extent the land question was involved with other national issues and emphasizes the sectional aspects of this question.

In 1830 many things seemed to be working towards the speedy enactment of some sort of homestead law. In addition to the increase of the power of the West the financial condition of the country favored the policy of free gifts of the public lands. Up to this time the opponents of this policy or of the cessions of lands to the states had been able to rest their case on the argument that the lands were an important source of revenue and that this revenue was needed to pay the public debt. But now the public debt was being rapidly paid off and other grounds must be found for this opposition.

In view of the extinction of the debt Jackson took a stand in favor of a policy which should bring about the rapid settlement of the lands. He advocated this in his message of December, 1832, although he did not favor in full the principle of the homestead bill, but advised the sale of the lands to settlers at only enough to cover the cost of administration.[2] Such a policy accorded not only with Jackson's ideas regarding the West but also with his position on

[1] *Register of Debates*, VI. Pt. 1, 24–27, 102.
[2] *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, II. 601.

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other matters of public policy, as, favoring an economical administration, he was strongly opposed to a surplus revenue which might be used to further internal improvements.[1] In this he was in harmony with the South and the Democratic party, while the now forming Whig party favored a surplus. The matter was, however, complicated by the fact that if the revenue from the public lands should be kept up it would allow the reduction of the tariff, a measure favored by the Democrats and opposed by the Whigs. But the enactment of the compromise tariff of 1833 removed this issue from politics for some years, so that it appeared that the public land question might be settled on its own merits.

Accordingly, if the West had remained firm in its demand for the public lands it seems likely that it would have secured them either by means of a homestead law or by cessions to the states. The strongest objection to these measures would have come from the New England states, while the support of Jackson and the South could probably have been secured. Adams was of the opinion that an active Western and Southern alliance existed and that the public lands were to be given to the states.[2]

But the West did not hold firm to the position which it had taken. The action of one of its leaders completely changed its policy and committed the Whig party to a definite line of action in opposition to cessions to the states and homestead grants. In 1832 the request of the Western states for the public lands had been referred to the committee on manufactures, of which Clay was chairman, and he had reported in favor of the distribution of the proceeds from the land-sales among all the states. Without considering in detail the efforts to secure such a distribution, it is evident that this would effectually prevent either a homestead law or the cession of the lands to the states.[3]

But even if the government would not reduce the price of the lands the Western states had devised a way by which they could be obtained cheaply. The large issues of notes of the state banks, which were accepted in payment for lands until the specie circular of July 11, 1836, enabled one to purchase lands with comparative ease. Then came the crisis of 1837, and for a time the desire for lands at any price was removed.

[1] *Ibid.*, 597–598.

[2] "That debate [on Foot's resolution] was one of the earliest results of that coalition between the South and the West to sacrifice the manufacturing and free-labor interests of the North and East to the slave-holding interests of the South, by the plunder of the western lands surrendered by the South to the Western States." Adams, *Memoirs*, IX. 235 (April 19, 1835).

[3] On the distribution of the proceeds of the public lands see Sato, *Land Question in the United States*, Johns Hopkins University Studies, IV. 411–417.

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From the time of Clay's report on the distribution of the proceeds in 1832, nothing is heard of homestead grants until 1845. Yet there is through this period a constantly increasing tendency to consider the actual settler in administering the public lands. In 1837 a bill to prohibit the sale of lands to any but actual settlers passed the Senate by a vote of 27 to 23,[1] but was laid on the table in the House, 107 to 91.[2] In the next Congress the changing sentiment was manifested by the passage of a graduation bill by the Senate by the decisive vote of 27 to 16,[3] while in the House another such bill received a favorable report from the committee on public lands,[4] although it never came to a vote. At this time the land policies of Texas and Canada were contrasted with those of the United States.[5] Further efforts to reduce and graduate the price of the lands were made during the next Congresses, but these, like their predecessors, failed in the House. The question had quieted down for a time and the chief importance of these bills is the indication which the votes upon them give of a gradual change in sectional sentiment, by which the North came to favor and the South to oppose the encouragement of Western emigration. The greatest gain to the actual settlers came in 1841 by the passage of a permanent pre-emption law.[6]

During this period there was no fixed and definite land policy. The passage of Clay's distribution bill in 1841 may be taken as indicating a policy hostile to a reduction in the price of lands, as there would then be much less to be distributed.[7] The homestead policy was, however, applied in an isolated case by the "Florida Donation Act" of 1842.[8] This granted quarter-sections to actual settlers, such an inducement being considered necessary because of the danger from the Indians.[9]

The position which the parties took in 1844 on the land question shows that the homestead policy was not actively considered by either at this time. The Whigs favored and the Democrats opposed the distribution of the proceeds, but beyond this the platforms did not go. It was asserted at a later time that the result of the election was a verdict for the reduction and graduation of the

[1] *Senate Journal*, 24th Cong., second session, 233.
[2] *House Journal*, 24th Cong., second session, 561.
[3] *Senate Journal*, 25th Cong., second session, 356.
[4] *Globe*, 25th Cong., second session, 60–61.
[5] *Ibid.*, 294. Texas offered 640 acres to each head of a family and 120 acres to each single man. Gouge, *Fiscal History of Texas*, 93.
[6] See Sato, *Land Question*, 417–421.
[7] See *Globe*, 28th Cong., second session, 248, 249.
[8] *Statutes at Large*, V. 502.
[9] *Globe*, 27th Cong., second session, 623–624, 764–766.

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price of the lands,[1] but there is nothing to show that anything more than the distribution was in issue in this campaign, and this was of very minor importance.[2] The question before the people was not how to dispose of the land which we already had but how to acquire more. Texas and Oregon, not distribution and homesteads, were the issues of the campaign.

But new territories having been acquired, the problem of their settlement at once arose. While the paramount question was whether the settlers could take their slaves with them, yet the plan of offering inducements for Western immigration began to push to the front, although it was not so much for the new territories as for the old ones that the latter question was agitated. The decade 1840–50, particularly its latter half, was a period of constantly increasing emigration from Europe to the United States. A great share of this new population went into the states and territories of the Northwest, which show an astonishing rate of increase during those ten years.[3] That a still greater increase might be secured, the movement for homesteads was taken up in earnest by the Western states.

Yet this new movement for free grants was not to come at first from the land states but from a state which had no public lands. In 1845 Thomasson, of Kentucky, had introduced a bill making donations of forty acres to actual settlers who were heads of families. He very frankly stated that one of his chief objects was to remove the public-land fund from the national treasury, as he did not wish a revenue from the lands sufficient to give an excuse for breaking down the protective system.[4] The next year two amendments having for their object the securing of homesteads for actual settlers were offered to graduation bills. One of these came from Darragh, of Pennsylvania, and provided for the donation of lands which had been in the market for ten years or more to actual settlers after a three years' occupation,[5] and the other from Johnson, of Tennessee, making grants of quarter-sections to destitute heads of families who should occupy them for four years.[6] Both of these plans were limited in their application, the first as regards the lands and the second as regards the settlers, but neither secured the assent of the House.

[1] By Bowlin, of Missouri, July 6, 1846. *Globe*, 29th Cong., first session, 1061–1062.

[2] Vinton, of Ohio, declared that the public lands had never been a party question. *Ibid.*, 1076.

[3] Wisconsin increased 886 per cent. during this decade; Iowa 199 per cent.; Michigan 87 per cent.; Illinois 79 per cent.

[4] *Globe*, 28th Cong., second session, 241.

[5] *Globe*, 29th Cong., first session, 1077.

[6] *Ibid.*

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During the next Congress various bills were introduced looking toward the homestead principle, either attempting to prevent speculation in the public lands[1] or making grants to actual settlers;[2] but none of these received any consideration. But the issue of homesteads, if not considered in Congress, was presented in very definite form to the people by the new Free-Soil party in its Buffalo convention of 1848.[3] While this party did not represent any considerable number of voters, yet on this particular question it was in harmony with many members of the old parties, neither of which antagonized the position which the Free-Soilers had taken.

In 1850 an important step in land policy was taken in the enactment of the first railroad-land-grant law, which donated lands to Illinois, Mississippi and Alabama for a railroad from Chicago to Mobile. While the plan for this grant had originated in the West and was strongly supported there it also received some opposition from that section because it was felt that the possession of large tracts of lands by corporations and the increase (to $2.50 an acre) in the price of the remaining public lands within six miles of the proposed road would operate to the disadvantage of the settler. An unsuccessful effort was made to strike out this increase of price,[4] but no further opposition to railroad land-grants from the homestead standpoint was now developed.

At this time two propositions for homestead grants were made in the Senate. The one, by Walker of Wisconsin, was for a cession of the lands to the states, on condition that they be granted in limited quantities to actual settlers for the cost of administration.[5] The other, from Douglas, was for grants of 160 acres to actual settlers after a residence and cultivation of four years.[6] The committee on public lands reported against both bills. In general, they considered that the public lands should be administered for the benefit of the treasury and that that system of disposal which would bring the greatest financial return should be adopted. The public lands were pledged for the payment of the public debt and so could

[1] *Globe*, 30th Cong., first session, 916, 181, 583.

[2] *Ibid.*, 25, 605.

[3] "Resolved, That the free grant to actual settlers, in consideration of the expenses they incur in making settlements in the wilderness, which are usually fully equal to their actual cost, and of the public benefits resulting therefrom, of reasonable portions of the public lands, under suitable limitations, is a wise and just measure of public policy which will promote, in various ways, the interests of all the States of the Union." Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, 241.

[4] See my *Congressional Grants of Land in Aid of Railways*, Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, Economics, Political Science and History Series, II., no. 3, pp. 31–32.

[5] *Senate Journal*, 31st Cong., first session, 116.

[6] *Ibid.*, 36.

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not in justice to the public debtors be given away. The plan would also be unjust to those who already held land in the new states, as so much free land placed upon the market would at once reduce land values. The committee further held that not only had the government no right thus to decrease the value of farm lands, but it was especially estopped because of the effect which such an action would have on the grants recently made for internal improvements of various kinds.[1] The antagonism between the homestead system and the beneficiaries under the internal improvement grants was thus sharply brought out.

During the next Congress the public land question was most prominent of all. It was between the advocates of homesteads and the railroad land-grants that the chief conflict occurred. Governor Farwell of Wisconsin, in his message of 1852, argued that the grants for railroads injured rather than benefited the Western states, because of the inclusion, in the grants, of the most valuable portions of the public lands and the consequent retarding of settlement.[2] On the other side it was stated that the only formidable opposition to the homestead bills came from the friends of land-grants,[3] and that, while the House was opposed to the land-grant bills, they might be passed by compromises with those who were more opposed to grants to settlers.[4] On comparing the vote on the homestead bill with that on a typical land-grant bill it will be found that the members divide into three classes of almost equal strength, one opposed to the one and in favor of the other measure, a second opposed to both plans and a third favoring both.[5]

The tariff question again appeared in connection with the homestead grants. In 1850 and 1852 charges were made in the debates over the bills that their supporters wished to accomplish what Thomasson had in 1845 frankly stated to be his object, the creation of a need for high tariff duties.[6] It is quite probable that such influences were at work in the minds of some of the Whigs, but that party still retained its love for the distribution of the proceeds,[7] which would have accomplished the same object as the homestead law as far as the effect on the treasury was concerned.

The discussions over the homestead question in the Congressional session of 1851–52 exhibited also some manifestations of

[1] *Senate Reports*, 31st Cong., first session, No. 167.

[2] *Wisconsin Assembly Journal*, fifth session, 30–31.

[3] *Globe*, 32nd Cong., first session, App., 574.

[4] Pike in the *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, March 19, 1852.

[5] See my *Grants in Aid of Railways*, 46–49.

[6] *Globe*, 31st Cong., first session, 264; 32nd Cong., first session, App., 238.

[7] See Wentworth, *Congressional Reminiscences*, Fergus Historical Series, No. 24, p. 40.

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that spirit which was to break out two years later in the form of Know-Nothingism. The bill as introduced in the House would have granted lands to all citizens of the United States who should comply with its provisions. To this an amendment was offered which restricted its benefits to native-born citizens or to those who had declared their intention of becoming citizens prior to the first of January, 1852. This amendment was offered by Johnson and was supported by a number of other members of the House because they did not wish to encourage immigration by the bill;[1] but Johnson finally withdrew it.[2]

During the next Congress the restriction as to citizens was a part of the proposed bill, and the efforts to remove it met with violent opposition. Washburn of Illinois had proposed to allow anyone who had filed a declaration of intention to become a citizen to enter land under the bill, as this would encourage immigration; but this proposal was disagreed to without a division.[3] Wade then wished to remove all restrictions as to citizenship, but in this he was strongly opposed by several members, including Adams of Mississippi, who referred to the anti-slavery position which the foreigners were taking, and Thompson of Kentucky, who made a severe attack on the immigrants, although he declared that he was not a "Native American" in the political sense of the term.[4] Wade saw that his amendment would endanger and probably defeat the bill, and he withdrew it.[5] But even then the bill was objectionable to those members of Congress who were tinctured with "Americanism," for another section contained the provision that any person who had, at the time of the passage of the act, declared his intention of becoming a citizen should be entitled to the benefit of its provisions. This section was attacked. The assertion was made that the passage of the bill in that form would contribute to the growth of the Native American party, particularly in the South.[6] The *National Intelligencer*[7] characterized the bill as one which would "draw to our shores the poverty and crime of every clime and kingdom" of Europe. But in spite of these dire predictions the motion to strike out this section was defeated, 19 to 29.[8]

As if the cause of homesteads were not having troubles enough at this time, the question of the extension of slavery, now agitating

[1] *Globe*, 32nd Cong., first session, 1275–1284.
[2] *Ibid.*, 1315.
[3] *Globe*, 33d Cong., first session, 529.
[4] *Ibid.*, 944–948.
[5] *Ibid.*, 1661.
[6] *Ibid.*, 1705.
[7] July 20, 1854.
[8] *Senate Journal*, 33d Cong., first session, 516.

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Congress in the form of the Kansas-Nebraska bill, came up to vex it. Some fears were expressed that free negroes might take advantage of the homestead act, but on this the opinion was quite generally expressed that the limitation as to citizens was sufficient, as negroes could not possibly be included under that designation. But to make the matter perfectly sure the word white was inserted in the bill; not, however, so that it would read "white citizens," a redundant expression in the ears of the Southerners, but "white persons."[1] But that the restriction to whites did not reconcile the slave states is shown clearly in the vote in the House, where the members from the free states were 74 to 31 for the bill and the members from the slave states 41 to 33 against it, and of these 33 votes 21 came from the border states of Tennessee, Kentucky and Missouri.[2]

One of the opponents of the bill from the slave states saw clearly why it was for the interest of his section to take the position which it took. Johnson, of Arkansas, stated in the Senate that he had formerly favored the bill, but that he could not support it because "just at this time it is tinctured, to a degree, from its inevitable effects, and under the peculiar circumstances, so strongly with abolitionism." The style is involved but the meaning is clear, and he went on to explain that the lands north of the Missouri Compromise line where only northern men could go were being opened up for settlement, while those south of the line were still closed, and so the bill was being pushed at this time in order that the territorial question might be settled in favor of the North.[3] But this objection was being removed at this very time, for the Kansas-Nebraska bill had passed the Senate and was under discussion in the House with every prospect of its early passage. What Johnson did not say but what he must have realized was, that it was the Northern farmer, rather than the Southern slaveholder, who would be induced to go into the territories by such a law.

During the debates on this bill it was declared to be the true Democratic doctrine, that the lands should be sold and the proceeds placed in the treasury, the revenue thus derived permitting a lower tariff.[4] The Democrats, however, favored the bill, voting for it, 72 to 52, and the Whigs took a similiar position by a vote of 35 to 19. The only Free-Soiler in the House voted against it.[5]

The House had, for some years, annually passed the homestead bill, and the Senate had as regularly defeated it. But in 1854, the

[1] *Globe*, 33d Cong., first session, 503–504.
[2] *House Journal*, 33d Cong., first session, 458.
[3] *Globe*, 33d Cong., first session, 1125.
[4] *Ibid.*, 459.
[5] *House Journal*, 33d Cong., first session, 458.

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Senate, instead of directly voting the bill down, set it aside and passed a substitute which provided that any free white person, head of a family, should be entitled to enter on a quarter-section of public land and after five years' occupation and cultivation purchase it for twenty-five cents an acre. This substitute contained a number of other provisions, for the right of pre-emption by the states, for a general grant of land to the states for the building of railroads, etc.[1] It seems to have been supported by both the friends and the opponents of the regular homestead bill.[2] This bill went back to the House, but was not acted upon there.

It was not until about four years later that the question of homesteads again came before Congress. Early in the session which began in the fall of 1857 a bill for free grants was introduced into the Senate but was postponed after a short discussion to January, 1859. There was some factious opposition expressed in a proposition to give to any head of a family a land-warrant for 160 acres, that he might enjoy the benefits of the act without leaving his home and going to the West.[3] The doctrine of *laissez faire* was brought up as opposed to the principle of the bill; it was declared that a person's self-interest should be sufficient to cause the settlement of the new lands as rapidly as was good for the country.[4] Johnson attempted to remove the feeling which he said existed in the South that the homestead bill was a sort of Emigrant Aid Society, by showing that the bill had been before Congress since 1846, before there was, as he expressed it, any question of slavery.[5]

At the short session of this Congress the House passed a homestead bill by a vote of 120 to 76. The sectional and party divisions are particularly significant at this time, as they show clearly the intimate connection between slavery and the question of territorial expansion as expressed in the proposed bill. That the bill was a northern Emigrant Aid measure can be doubted by no one who remembers the slowness with which the Southerners could be induced to move into the territories, and the corresponding willingness of the Northerners to migrate even without homestead inducements. Both sections were alive to this aspect of the bill; only 7 votes from the free states were cast against it and only 5 votes from the slave states for it. The Democrats were 38 to 60 against it and the Republicans 82 to 1 in its favor. The fear that the bill would encourage immigration was shown in the votes of the 15 Americans

[1] *Globe*, 33d Cong., first session, App., 1122.
[2] See my *Grants in Aid of Railways*, 50–51.
[3] *Globe*, 35th Cong., first session, 2240.
[4] *Ibid.*
[5] *Ibid.*, 2265.

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against the measure.[1] The New York *Tribune* enumerated, as the forces which were opposed to the bill, slavery, railroad grants and bounty land-warrants, the last because homesteads would decrease the value of the warrants.[2]

The bill which the Senate had postponed from the previous session had not been considered. On February 17, 1859, the House bill came up. A motion to postpone it stood 28 to 28; the Vice-President, Breckenridge, voted in the affirmative and so the matter was put off for the moment. On February 25, the Senate had under consideration the bill to appropriate $30,000,000 for the purchase of Cuba. The time was particularly inopportune for the forcing of a discussion on a measure so opposed to the slavery interests as the homestead bill, but Doolittle of Wisconsin moved to lay the Cuba bill aside and take up the other. Johnson, Douglas and Rice, all supporters of the homestead bill, requested Doolittle to withdraw his motion, as it only served to antagonize the friends of the Cuba bill. Doolittle refused, and the discussion between the slavery and anti-slavery elements in the Senate grew warm. Toombs asserted that the opponents of the Cuba bill were attempting to dodge the issue by killing the bill under the guise of a postponement. Wade denied the charge and said that the anti-slavery men were willing to meet the issue, which he stated as: "Shall we give niggers to the niggerless or lands to the landless?" It was evident that the two measures were in flat opposition, not only as regards precedence on that evening but in their ultimate principles, which Seward more decorously stated as follows: "The homestead bill is a question of homes, of homes for the landless freemen of the United States. The Cuba bill is a question of slaves for the slaveholders of the United States." The motion to take up the homestead bill failed by a vote of 19 to 29, only one person from a slave state, Johnson of Tennessee, voting in favor of it. By almost the same vote (18 to 30) the Senate refused to lay the Cuba bill on the table, the difference being due to the change in Johnson's vote.[3]

The Southern opposition was not, however, all due to the effect which a homestead act would have on the slavery question. Under

[1] *House Journal*, 35th Cong., second session, 309. I use the classification of the *Tribune Almanac* for 1859. "The slaveholders voted against it because they despise free labor, and the doughfaces because they love to serve the slaveholders. The South Americans voted against the bill because it allowed aliens, who had only declared their intention of becoming citizens, to participate in its benefits." New York *Semi-Weekly Tribune*, February 8, 1859.

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] See *Globe*, 35th Cong., second session, 1351–1354, 1363. By the time the vote was taken on the Cuba bill two senators who had voted on the homestead bill were paired and there was a vote from Maryland for and one from Oregon against the bill.

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a strict construction of the Constitution it was held that Congress could not give away the public lands or use them to further any objects which could not be aided by a direct appropriation. The provision of the Constitution that "The Congress shall have power to dispose of, and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belong to the United States,"[1] was considered as limited by the enumerated powers granted to Congress so that nothing could be done with the lands which was not specified in those enumerated powers. This had been one of the grounds taken by Pierce in his veto of the act granting lands for support of hospitals for the insane, passed by Congress in 1854.[2] The same objection was made to grants in aid of colleges[3] and was only obviated in the grants for railroads by the alternate-section principle, whereby the lands remaining to the government within the limits of the grant were doubled in price so that there was in theory no loss to the government.[4] Some of the homestead bills, but not all, also contained this alternate-section principle, in the form of a restriction of the entries to the odd-numbered sections, but the remaining sections were of course not doubled in price. The bill which passed Congress in 1860 and which was vetoed by Buchanan bore this form.[5] Little attention seems to have been paid to this provision and it did not overcome, as in the case of the railroad grants, the objections of the strict constructionists.

At the next Congress the homestead bill passed the House after but little discussion. Sectionally and politically the vote was divided almost as before. Of the 115 voting for the bill 90 were Republicans and 25 Democrats, and the 66 opposed to it were 49 Democrats and 17 Americans. Pennsylvania was the only free state from which a vote was cast against the bill and Missouri the

[1] Art. IV., Sec. III.

[2] "I respectfully submit that in a constitutional point of view it is wholly immaterial whether the appropriation be in money or in land.

"The public domain is the common property of the Union just as much as the surplus proceeds of that and of duties on imports remaining unexpended in the Treasury. As such it has been pledged, is now pledged, and may need to be so pledged again for public indebtedness.

"As property it is distinguished from actual money chiefly in this respect, that its profitable management sometimes requires that portions of it be appropriated to local objects in the States wherein it may happen to lie, as would be done by any prudent proprietor to enhance the sale value of his private domain. All such grants are in fact a disposal of it for value received, but they afford no precedent or constitutional reason for giving away the public lands." *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 253–254.

[3] See Knight, *Land Grants for Education in the Northwest Territory*, Papers of the American Historical Association, I. 97.

[4] See my *Grants in Aid of Railways*, 86.

[5] Donaldson, *Public Domain*, 340.

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only slave state with a vote for it.[1] The provision allowing the entry of 80 acres of land held at $2.50 an acre partly opened up the reserved lands in the railroad grants, but 160 acres of the $1.25 lands could be taken up by the homesteader. Not until 1879 could the latter amount of the reserved lands be entered under the proposed act.

It was evident that the bill could not pass the Senate, and therefore Johnson proposed a substitute which gave to actual settlers the right of pre-emption at twenty-five cents an acre. A test vote on the homestead principle itself was furnished by the motion of Wade to substitute the original House bill, but this was lost 26 to 31, with votes from three free states, Pennsylvania, California and Oregon, against it.[2] The bill was then passed with only eight votes against it, seven of which were from the slave states.[3] The House at first refused to recede from its original bill but finally yielded to the Senate, considering that it was doing the best thing possible under the circumstances.[4] But even this concession to the friends of homesteads was not destined to become law, for Buchanan returned it to the Senate without his approval and the attempt to pass it over the veto failed, 27 to 18.[5]

Buchanan considered that the price charged would be merely nominal, so that the measure would be open to the same objections as a direct grant. That such a grant was unconstitutional Buchanan had already held in his veto of the agricultural college land-grant bill.[6] Congress was a trustee of the public lands, and when it was authorized by the Constitution to "dispose of" them, such a power was limited by the purposes for which the government was created, by the enumerated powers of Congress. He also considered the bill unjust to those who had already settled in the West and who had paid a much higher price for the lands. The holders of bounty land-warrants could also object, for the value of those instruments would be reduced by the bill. It was further unjust in that it confined its benefits to one class of the people; in that it would offer inducements for emigration from the old states, and because it would encourage immigration from abroad. Buchanan considered that the old system of holding the lands for revenue should be retained, and estimated that from them an annual income of $10,000,000 could be obtained.[7]

[1] *House Journal*, 36th Cong., first session, 502.
[2] *Senate Journal*, 36th Cong., first session, 447.
[3] *Ibid.*, 458.
[4] *Globe*, 36th Cong., first session, 3179.
[5] *Ibid.*, 3272.
[6] *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V. 543.
[7] *Ibid.*, 608–614.

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This argument of Buchanan's against the homestead bill is a decidedly weak one. In the constitutional part of it he followed Pierce in his veto of the grant for the insane, but he did not state that argument with the same force as his predecessor. And that argument, in its best form, was valid only on a very strict interpretation of the Constitution, an interpretation which every American statesman had exceeded time and again. Much of the remainder of his argument is based on the assumption that the labor of five years which the settler must expend on the land before he could obtain a clear title to it was no return to the government for the lands donated, whereas it is probably no exaggeration to say that the improvement and settlement of the land was of greater value to the country than the price of the land would have been; for in the case of outright sales there was no guarantee that the land would be settled or cultivated. As for the immigration problem, the foreigner who was attracted by the prospect of five years' labor on the frontier has proved the most desirable settler that the country has obtained from abroad.

The next Congress showed very little opposition to the homestead bill and it at last became a law, May 20, 1862. Its passage attracted little attention in the war time, but its wisdom has never been seriously questioned and the only amendments have been intended to increase its efficiency and liberality.

During the period of more than forty years throughout which the homestead bills, in one form or another, were before Congress the most manifold opposition was manifested to them. At first they had to contend with the feeling that to give away any of the public lands would be to waste a large source of revenue at a time when the country needed all the money it could obtain to pay its debts. When the need of the revenue became less pressing it was proposed to keep up the fund from the lands and then distribute it among the states. The actual settler was being more favored in the land legislation, but the efforts, feeble up to 1848, to obtain the lands for him without cost met with no success. After 1848 the movement increased in force but it found stronger forces in opposition to it. The advocate of state-sovereignty and strict construction saw in the homestead act an increase in the power of the general government and therefore gave his aid to its defeat. To the Know-Nothing it was an inducement to foreigners to come to our country and bring with them subservience to the Pope. And, strongest opponent of all, the slaveholder saw that free homesteads meant the rapid settlement of the lands by the people of the North and the passing of the territories from his hands forever. He found himself defeated

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in the struggle for Kansas even without the homestead law to aid the Northern emigrant; with it, he saw, the North would be invincible. With all this powerful opposition is it any wonder that bills which benefited directly only a class of citizens having little political influence should have waited so long to become law?

JOHN BELL SANBORN.

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THE BUFORD EXPEDITION TO KANSAS

By the Kansas-Nebraska Act passed by Congress in 1854, the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska were organized and thrown open to settlement with the proviso that all questions relating to slavery were to be decided by the people of each territory when it should be ready for admission into the Union as a state. The South conceded and the North was sure of the admission of Nebraska as a free state. In the case of Kansas it was doubtful if the anti-slavery party would ever be strong enough to control the elections, but the leaders at the North intended to make a fight to secure Kansas. Consequently there was great excitement in different sections of the country, especially at the North, where, almost before the bill became a law, Emigrant Aid Societies were formed whose object was to assist emigrants opposed to the institution of slavery to go to the territory and settle in order to be ready to vote at the proper time. In this movement of importing men the North had nearly two years the start, the South being confident that no exertion would be necessary in order to secure Kansas as a slave state. So there was very little pro-slavery emigration into this "debatable land" before late in 1855 except from the neighboring state of Missouri.

The first territorial elections were in favor of the Southern party, but the Emigrant Aid Societies in the Northern states kept pouring men and arms into the territory until late in 1855 the outlook was gloomy for the pro-slavery cause.

Pro-slavery Emigrant Aid Societies were now organized in Missouri, and soon other similar societies were formed in the remaining Southern states. Missouri appealed to her sister states in the South to come to her assistance. For two years she had borne the burden alone and would still do her utmost for the integrity of the South.

"But the time has come when she [Missouri] can no longer stand up single-handed, the lone champion of the South, against the myrmidons of the North. It requires no foresight to perceive that if the 'higher law' men succeed in this crusade, it will be but the beginning of a war upon the institutions of the South, which will continue until slavery shall cease to exist in any of the states, or the Union is dissolved.

"The great struggle will come off at the next election in October, 1856, and unless at that time the South can maintain her ground all will

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be lost. We repeat it, the Crisis has arrived. The time has come for action—bold, determined action. Words will no longer do any good; we must have men in Kansas, and that by tens of thousands. A few will not answer. If we should need ten thousand men and lack one of that number, all will count nothing. Let all then who can come do so at once. Those who cannot come must give their money to help others to come. . . . We tell you now, and tell you frankly, that unless you come quickly, and come by thousands, we are gone. The elections once lost are lost forever.''[1]

With Kansas a free state, Missouri and the states west of the Mississippi would soon be abolitionized, then Tennessee, Kentucky, and Virginia, until finally slavery would be shut up in a few states on the Gulf and South Atlantic.[2]

In all sections of the country, during the fall and winter of 1855, there was excitement and agitation over the Kansas question. The South was now thoroughly canvassed by agents of the pro-slavery Emigrant Aid Societies. Bands of men were made ready to start for the territory in the early spring. Alabama, South Carolina, and Georgia took the lead among the slave states in the work of sending men to Kansas to settle and vote for the interests of the South.

In Alabama the first body of pioneers for Kansas was enrolled by Thomas J. Orme, who on November 18, 1855, made this proposition: "If the people of Alabama will raise $100,000.00, I will land in Kansas 500 settlers. I have over one hundred volunteers now."[3] Nothing resulted from Orme's proposition, but on November 26, 1855, Major Jefferson Buford, a lawyer of Eufaula, who had served with distinction in the Indian War of 1836, published the following call:

Aid to Kansas. Col. Buford's Propositions.

"To Kansas Emigrants—

Who will go to Kansas? I wish to raise three hundred industrious, sober, discreet, reliable men capable of bearing arms, not prone to use them wickedly or unnecessarily, but willing to protect their sections in every real emergency. I desire to start with them for Kansas by the 20th of February next. To such I will guaranty the donation of a homestead of forty acres of first rate land, a free passage to Kansas and the means of support for one year. To ministers of the gospel, mechanics, and those with good military or agricultural outfits, I will offer greater inducements. Besides devoting twenty thousand dollars of my own means to this enterprise I expect all those who know and have confidence in me and who feel an interest in the cause, to contribute as much as they are able. I will give to each contributor my obligation that for every fifty dollars contributed I will within six months thereafter place in Kansas one bona fide settler, able and willing to vote and fight

[1] An appeal to the South from the Kansas Emigration Society of Missouri, published in the Southern newspapers. *Advertiser and Gazette* (Montgomery, Ala.), 1855.

[2] *Charleston Mercury*, 1855.

[3] *Advertiser and State Gazette.*

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if need be for our section, or in default of doing so, that I will on demand refund the donation with interest from the day of its receipt. I will keep an account of the obligations so issued, and each successive one shall specify one emigrant more than its immediate predecessor,—thus: No. 1 shall pledge me to take one emigrant; No. 2, two; No. 3, three, etc., and if the state makes a contribution it shall be divided into sums of fifty dollars each and numbered accordingly. Here is your cheapest and surest chance to do something for Kansas,—something toward holding against the free-soil hordes that great Thermopylae of Southern institutions. In this their great day of darkness, nay, of extreme peril, there ought to be, there needs must be great individual self-sacrifice, or they cannot be maintained. If we cannot find many who are willing to incur great individual loss in the common cause, if we cannot find some crazy enough to peril even life in the deadly breach, then it is not because individuals have grown more prudent and wise, but because public virtue has decayed and we have thereby already become unequal to the successful defense of our rights.

J. BUFORD.[1]"

November 26, 1855.

In a letter written near the close of December,[2] Major Buford describes the prospective settlers whom he had already enrolled as "honest, clever, poor young men from the country, used to agricultural labor, with a few merchants, mechanics, printers, and carpenters."

The organization of the party was to be military, with officers corresponding to those of the regular service, the officers below the rank of captain to be elected by the emigrants. By a majority vote a company could expel a member. Four places of rendezvous were appointed: Eufaula, Silver Run (now Seale), Columbus, Ga., and Montgomery. A date was set for assembling at each of these places, and the issue of rations began on that day.[3]

On his return Buford was to make a report giving the name and place of enrollment of each settler, and showing where in Kansas he was left. Contributions were asked for and those who could not contribute in cash were asked to do so in notes, thus:

Cross Road P. O., Barbour Co., Ala., January 1, 1856.

One year after date I promise to pay to Jefferson Buford ——— per head for every emigrant he may take to Kansas within that time, provided that I shall in no event be liable to pay over ——— dollars.

(Signed) ————————————[4]

[1] Published in the Eufaula *Spirit of the South* and copied on request in other Southern papers. The time of departure was subsequently changed to a date about the first of April, when the rivers should be free from ice.

[2] Eufaula *Spirit of the South*, copied in *Advertiser and State Gazette* of December 29, 1855.

[3] *Alabama Journal*, February 1, 1856.

[4] Letter from Buford in *Advertiser and State Gazette*, December 29, 1855.

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January 7, 1856, forty plantation slaves were sold by Major Buford in Montgomery (at the average price of seven hundred dollars), and the proceeds put into the fund for defraying the expenses of the expedition. Donations were coming in, and Wm. L. Yancey was appointed to receive contributions. The state was thoroughly canvassed by Buford and others during the month of February.[1] Alpheus Baker made some of his wonderfully persuasive speeches in Georgia and South Carolina in the interest of the crusade. William L. Yancey, Henry D. Clayton, LeRoy Pope Walker and Henry W. Hilliard delivered addresses to the people of Alabama, calling for good and true men to protect Southern rights on the Kansas battleground. Representative F. K. Beck of Wilcox County introduced a bill in the state legislature to appropriate $25,000 for the purpose of aiding emigrants to settle in Kansas. The bill was referred to the Committee on Federal Relations, and was never reported upon.[2]

Early in January Major Buford made a speech in Montgomery before the state legislature in which he explained his plans for securing Kansas to the South. A citizen of Worcester, Massachusetts, Wm. T. Merrifield, was in Montgomery at the time and heard of the designs of Buford. He at once returned to Massachusetts, told Eli Thayer, the originator of the Emigrant Aid Societies, about Buford's plans, and arranged with him to send men to oppose this Southern force. One hundred and sixty-five men well armed with Sharp's rifles (Beecher's Bibles)[3] were sent to Kansas for this purpose.[4]

It was intended that the Buford party should go armed, but in March Major Buford announced that in deference to the President's proclamation,[5] and in consonance with the true designs of the expedition, it would go unarmed.[6]

The Eufaula contingent left that place on March 31, accompanied by Alpheus Baker, who at all resting-points made addresses of encouragement to the men. Passing through Columbus, Ga., and taking with him a company of fifty men from that town, Major Buford reached Montgomery on April 4. There were now collected here about four hundred men, of whom one hundred were

[1] Buford's appointments were: Cahaba, Woodville, Benton, Lowndesboro, Mt. Willing, Greenville, Valleyton, Troy, Elba, Geneva, Daleville, Newton, Waterford, Columbia, Franklin, Abbeville.

[2] *Advertiser and State Gazette*, January 13, 1856.

[3] "Border Ruffian" name for Sharp's rifles.

[4] *Worcester Spy*, 1887. See Thayer's *Kansas Crusade*.

[5] President Pierce, February 11, 1856. See *Messages and Papers of the Presidents*, V.

[6] *Advertiser and State Gazette*, March 1, 1856, from Eufaula *Spirit of the South*.

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from South Carolina, fifty were Georgians, one was from Illinois, one from Boston, and the rest were Alabamians. The *Alabama Journal* of this date characterizes the emigrants collected in Montgomery as a superior class of young men, quiet, gentlemanly, temperate. Later some members of the party seem not to have deserved this praise.

On Saturday, April 5, Major Buford formed his men in line in front of the Madison House, and made a speech to them urging that they abstain from intoxicating liquors, and conduct themselves as gentlemen and good citizens. They were then marched to the Agricultural Fair Grounds and organized into a battalion of four companies under temporary officers, and Buford was elected *General* of the force. Saturday night a meeting of the citizens of Montgomery was held in Estelle Hall, and addresses were made by prominent gentlemen. Major Buford explained that he had undertaken this mission in order to settle Kansas with good and true Southern men who would uphold the right of their native land in the new country which was to be their future home. He was followed by other prominent speakers who declared that the fate of the South depended on the success or failure of the efforts now being made to save the new territory for the South. Resolutions were passed thanking the men who had so nobly responded to the call upon them for the defence of Southern rights against Northern aggression.

The battalion attended divine service on Sunday at the Baptist church. After the sermon the pastor, Rev. I. T. Tichenor, proposed that since some ministers at the North had been raising money to equip emigrants with Sharp's rifles, they present each man of Buford's battalion with a more powerful weapon—the Bible. The necessary amount was subscribed at once; it being found that there was not a sufficient number of Bibles in Montgomery, the money was turned over to Major Buford, who was to purchase them at some point on his route.

The next day the emigrants were marched again to the Baptist church where Rev. Mr. Tichenor on behalf of his congregation presented a handsome Bible to Major Buford, a song written by a lady of Montgomery was sung by the crusaders, and then the Rev. Mr. Dorman of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, offered up a prayer asking the blessings of heaven for Buford and his men.[1] It was noticed that the battalion carried two banners with inscrip-

[1] Full accounts of the stay of the Buford party in Montgomery will be found in the Montgomery papers, April 4–9, 1856. See also Joseph Hodgson's *Cradle of the Confederacy*.

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tions on them. One had in large letters upon it: "*The Supremacy of the White Race*," and on the reverse side was: "*Kansas, The Outpost.*" The second banner had the simple legend: "*Kansas.*" The Montgomery company wore silk badges with the inscription: "*Alabama for Kansas—North of 36° 30′. Bibles—not Rifles.*" From the church the battalion marched to the wharf and after speeches from Alpheus Baker and Henry W. Hilliard the emigrants boarded the steamer *Messenger* and departed for Mobile, followed by the cheers of five thousand people and the booming of cannon.

A stop of two days was made in Mobile and an election of officers was held. In Montgomery the party had been divided into four companies and Buford made General. The officers elected now were: B. F. Treadwell, Colonel; Major L. F. Johnston, Quartermaster-General; Captain E. R. Bell (of S. C.), Adjutant-General; John W. Jones (Auburn, Ala.), Surgeon; Gordon, Brown, Andrews, Jernigan (of Ga.), Captains.[1] On April 11, the command was marched to the bookstore of the Messrs. McIlvaine, where each man was supplied with a Bible, and then to the wharf to embark on the steamer *Florida* for New Orleans. At New Orleans a few additional emigrants were picked up and the battalion was divided for making the trip up the Mississippi in the steamers *America* and *Oceana.*

St. Louis was reached on April 23 and a stop was made for one day.[2] The people of St. Louis rated Buford's enterprise very highly, and regarded him as the best friend of Kansas in the whole South.[3] As the party was leaving St. Louis on the steamer *Keystone* for Kansas City, a thief broke into a trunk belonging to Major Buford and stole from it $5,000. It was believed that one of the emigrants was the thief, but the money was not recovered.[4] The next stop was made at Westport, where the men were equipped for settlement in Kansas, and on May 2 they passed over the line and scattered about the country seeking desirable locations for homesteads.

The arrival of Buford with settlers from the South greatly encouraged the pro-slavery leaders and alarmed the free-state men.

[1] *Mobile Register.* Also letters from members of the party to the Montgomery papers.

[2] While at St. Louis Buford addressed a communication to Col. Wm. Walker, provisional governor of "Kansas Territory," an organization attempted by Wyandotte Indians previous to the white settlement, asking permission to settle a portion of his men, who should be carefully selected from the party, on the Wyandotte Reservation. The writer has a certified copy of this letter made by G. W. Martin, Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society.

[3] Letter from A. B., Jr., dated St. Louis, April 23, 1856, to the *Advertiser and State Gazette.*

[4] *St. Louis Herald*, April 26, 1856.

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"Our hearts have been made glad," wrote one of the Southerners, "by the late arrival of large companies from South Carolina and Alabama. They have responded nobly to our call for help. The noble Buford is already endeared to our hearts; we love him; we will fight for him and die for him and his noble companions."[1] On the free-state side, ex-Governor Reeder writes in his diary: "There have come to the territory this spring three or four hundred young men, including Buford's party, who evidently came here to fight, and whose leaders probably understood the whole program before they left home." Before the party left Westport there was a meeting of the citizens to make the presentation to Major Buford of a fine horse, with fine saddle and bridle.[2] Nearly half a century later an old citizen of Westport writes: "The people of Westport were glad to see Buford's men come. They were doubly glad when they went away finally."

By May 7 the colonists had scattered over different portions of the territory with the intention of locating permanently as citizens, and Buford was seeking some central location for himself in order that he might maintain communication with the members of his colony.[3] Blue Jacket on the Wakarusa was suggested to him as a desirable place in which to settle.

The emigrants had not yet settled permanently, or at least few of them had done so, but were seeking favorable locations for claims on the government lands before pre-empting their quarter-sections. Most of them were destined never to make their homes in Kansas, for at the very time when they came over the border there was trouble again between the territorial government and the free-state settlers at Lawrence. Indictments had been found by the Douglas County grand jury against a number of free-state men living at Lawrence, and the United States marshal feared to undertake their arrest without a strong posse. So on May 11 he summoned the citizens of Kansas to appear in Lecompton in force sufficient to execute the laws.

In response to this call for men, Buford gathered his colonists, some of them at Lecompton, but the greater part of them at Franklin, where they were enrolled and armed by Governor Shannon as territorial militia.[4] Buford's force at Franklin numbered four hun-

[1] Manager of Lafayette County Emigration Society.

[2] *Border Times* (Westport), May 3, 1856.

[3] Letter from J. M. Thompson, Liberty, Missouri, to General Strickler, of Kansas (copy in possession of writer).

[4] Letter to *Alabama Journal* of May 31, from a former printer on that paper (Wilson?). Also Mrs. S. T. L. Robinson's *Kansas: Its Interior and Exterior Life*; J. F. Rhodes, *United States*.

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dred men, and was under the direction of United States Marshal I. B. Donelson.

Captain E. R. Bell of South Carolina, one of Buford's officers (Adjutant-General), was sent with a company of men to intercept arms and armed men and prevent them from getting into Lawrence, which was preparing to withstand a siege. May 16, he captured a wagon loaded with guns and sabres. Three days later he was notified that three wagons loaded with arms would attempt to cross a bridge near where he was stationed. Taking volunteers from the companies at Franklin, Bell went with thirty-six foot-soldiers and five mounted men to catch the wagons. The mounted men reached the bridge first and drove off a sentinel party of free-state men stationed there. These men warned the drivers of the wagons and they escaped. Shortly after the mounted men reached the bridge a free-state man came up and attempted to cross. He was halted "by order of the United States Marshal." "I do not recognize that authority," he said, and tried to force his way across, presenting a pistol at the guards. He was "halted" three times and was then fired upon and wounded.[1] The next day ten of Buford's men carried G. W. Brown, editor of the *Herald of Freedom*, as a federal prisoner to Lecompton. Two of these men on their return to Franklin were fired upon by a party of free-state men and one of the Southerners was shot through the arm. The other Southerner killed the man who had shot his comrade, and then, followed by a volley, assisted the wounded man to escape.

On May 20, the marshal began gathering his forces, to assemble before Lawrence. On the morning of May 21, early risers in Lawrence were astonished to see a force of soldiery drawn up on Mount Oread, a high hill near the town. Buford did not arrive until eleven o'clock. His men carried the banners that had been brought from Alabama. These banners seem to have offended some good citizens of Lawrence worse than the sack of the town and the destruction of property. The force investing Lawrence was Kansas territorial militia under the command of United States Marshal I. B. Donelson and Deputy-Marshal Fain. The latter with a small party entered the town and made several arrests, meeting with no resistance. He then returned to the militia assembled outside of the town and declared the posse disbanded. Samuel J. Jones, Sheriff of Douglas county, immediately summoned the entire body to assist him in serving some writs.

The Free State Hotel in Lawrence had been used during the Wakarusa War as a place of armed rendezvous, and each of the

[1] Letter from Captain Bell dated Franklin, May 20, to *Charleston Courier*, copied in *Alabama Journal*, June, 1856.

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newspapers had published articles of an inflammatory and seditious nature denying the legality of the territorial government. Consequently the grand jury of Douglas County had declared them "nuisances," and as such had recommended their abatement.[1] To "abate" them was the intention of Sheriff Jones. He marched his posse to the foot of the hill and formed a hollow square. Ex-Senator Atchison and others addressed the party, declaring their intention to destroy the hotel and the two printing-presses. Major Buford and many others of the sheriff's posse protested against this outrage, and endeavored to dissuade the sheriff from carrying out his designs. In a "Memorial to the President from the Inhabitants of Kansas" dated May 22, the prominent citizens of Lawrence state that "Col. Buford of Alabama also disclaimed having come to Kansas to destroy property, and condemned the course which had been taken;" that he used his influence to restrain the sheriff, and expressed his disapproval of the outrage in the strongest terms.[2]

After the destruction of Lawrence the Alabamians again separated, some going back to Lecompton with Buford; others camped on Bull Creek near Paola, not far from the scene of the John Brown murders, and a third party camped near Dutch Henry's Crossing, where they were visited by John Brown, who passed for a federal surveyor. He mingled with the men, heard their plans to catch him, and made his arrangements accordingly.

Civil war broke out in Kansas after the murder of the pro-slavery settlers by John Brown. Col. Sumner in command of United States troops took the field and dispersed or drove out of Kansas all armed bodies of men. All of Buford's men who were in arms were forced to go back into Missouri, most of them returning to Westport. At this time Buford bought twenty-five horses for the use of his men at Westport. These horses were used in their trips to Kansas afterward, and became well known as "Buford's Cavalry."[3]

The events leading up to and following the raid on Lawrence and the murders by John Brown had greatly demoralized the Buford settlers. Unable on account of the hostility of the anti-slavery party to make homes for themselves in Kansas, they were

[1] J. N. Holloway's *History of Kansas.*

[2] The full text of the Memorial is given in Charles Robinson's *Kansas Conflict.*

[3] Letter to *Alabama Journal* of July 2, dated Westport, June 15, from Wilson, a former printer on that paper. He writes: "Very nearly the last man of us is flat broke. Impossible to get work in the territory. Clothes are giving out, and some of the boys are returning home. Some are going to stay and see it out. Major Buford is preparing a statement of expenditures to show to the South. He has spent his fortune on this enterprise and will not have a cent left for his children. However, he relies on the sympathy of friends at home to assist him out, and take care of us poor devils until the question is settled and Kansas becomes a State."

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forced to live on the country by contributions made by sympathizers with their cause or forced from their enemies. On the night of June 4 a number of Alabamians at Franklin were attacked by a free-state company, who broke into the stores Buford had provided for the settlers and carried away provisions, arms, ammunition, etc. Four of Buford's men were wounded in this fight. Two of the Montgomery company (Powell and Vickers) with three Georgians were sent by Buford for a wagon and returning were captured by the free-state men, robbed of their arms, and tortured several hours before being released.[1]

The first week in June a large part of Buford's men accompanied General Whitfield into Kansas to protect pro-slavery settlers who were being driven from their homes. The governor however ordered all armed parties to disband, and Col. Sumner again sent the Alabamians back to Missouri. On this expedition into Kansas Captain Jernigan was captured by free-state guerrillas, but was released by United States troops.

Buford himself spent the first part of June in Westport and Kansas City consulting with the pro-slavery leaders, and endeavoring to devise some plan to support the failing cause of the South in Kansas. Alpheus Baker and Major L. F. Johnston had returned to Alabama soon after reaching the territory, for more men and more money. Now, on June 21, Buford and others sent an appeal to the South for more emigrants to check the abolitionists in their efforts to drive the pro-slavery party from Kansas.[2]

June 26, Buford left the territory on a mission to the South in the interest of Kansas. He visited Washington and the principal cities of the slave states. In Washington he remained several weeks endeavoring to interest the Southern leaders in his scheme for the colonization of Kansas. Robert Toombs, R. M. T. Hunter, J. B. DeBow and other prominent Southerners gave him valuable aid in forwarding his projects.[3] After an absence of several months spent in trying to arouse the South to a sense of her danger, Buford returned to Kansas late in 1856.

Meanwhile all had not gone well with the colonists he had left behind. Numbers had returned to Alabama after the first troubles in the territory in May. A state of civil war existed for months after the Brown murders and the raid upon Lawrence. The pro-slavery settlers lived in constant fear for their lives. Under such

[1] Letter to *Advertiser and State Gazette*, from W. W. Cook, Westport, June 3.

[2] *Alabama Journal.* Letter from J. M. Buford of Portland, Oregon, a brother of Major Buford. Professor Spring's *Kansas.*

[3] Letters belonging to Major Buford's daughter. Copies in possession of writer.

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unfavorable conditions the Buford party disbanded. A good number enlisted in the United States troops stationed in Kansas, some of them went over to the other side and became free-state partisans,[1] others made their way south again, while one party remained during the fall at Westport. They were encamped near the home of Col. McGee, an ardent states-rights man, who, however, reports himself as having suffered much from disorderly pro-slavery friends.

In December Buford was at Westport and made preparations to return to Alabama in the spring. He published an account of the receipts and expenditures of his expedition in the Westport *Star of Empire*. The figures were as follows:

Cost of enterprise	$24,625.06
Contributions	13,967.90
Leaving a loss of	$10,657.16

These figures show the expenditures and losses of the Buford enterprise only. None of the expenses of the Clayton and other colonies or his own expenses and losses from theft are reckoned in this account. The loss was borne by Major Buford.

January 12, 1857, Buford with others signed an address to the South in behalf of the National Democratic Party of Kansas. This is the last appearance he makes in the affairs of the territory.

More clearly than any other man Buford had foreseen the results that must follow the admission of Kansas as a free state. He gave his fortune to the cause, and worked long and faithfully to arouse the South to the impending danger, but his prophetic voice was not fully heeded. His colonization plan was a failure financially and politically. The institutions of the South could not be transplanted to Kansas. The question that he hoped to have settled by votes in Kansas was finally decided by bayonets on a hundred bloody battle-fields in the South.[2]

WALTER L. FLEMING.

[1] J. M. Buford; Von Holst.

[2] After his return from Kansas Buford lived at Clayton, Alabama, where on August 28, 1861, he died suddenly of heart disease. "At the time of his death not one scrap of the history of the expedition, of the number of men enlisted in it, or their names, places of residence, or anything pertaining to it could be found. He had deposited them all in some bank or other place of security in Washington City of which he told no one. No trace of his papers could be found after his death. He was a very secretive man, and seldom informed any one of his plans or purposes."—J. M. Buford.

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THE GUIANA BOUNDARY

A Postscript to the Work of the American Commission

My theme is not the award. All that America or Americans asked was arbitration, and arbitration there has been. Venezuela herself, our client, even had she not been awarded that for which she most hotly strove—the mouth of her great river—could as the weaker power find ample cause for gratitude in any boundary which has such guaranty of permanence.

But, now that the episode has safely passed from politics to history, it seems to me due to those whose interest in the history of Guiana outlives the dispute as to ownership, and who may still treasure the work done for President Cleveland's Commission as a lasting gain to our knowledge of the exploration and settlement of the western world, that some effort should be made to check its results by the new evidence laid before the final tribunal. I trust it is not presumption for me to undertake the task; and certainly in no pages could it find so fitting place as in those of the American Historical Review.

The labors of the American Commission, it will be remembered, were cut short in the midst, early in 1897, by the treaty of arbitration between Great Britain and Venezuela. Some months before, indeed—as early as November 10, 1896—the treaty was so nearly assured that Secretary Olney could request the Commission to suspend its deliberations; and it can now be no breach of confidence to add that for weeks prior to this the shadow of the coming event had narrowed the field of research. Thus, much was left undone. There could be no such sifting and testing of Spanish claims as of Dutch. The history of present-century Guiana was scarcely entered on. And, even in the field explored, more than one tempting avenue of inquiry was left unentered.

To these tasks the advocates of Great Britain and of Venezuela could now address themselves. Their time, it is true, was but scant. By the terms of the treaty "the printed Case of each of the two Parties, accompanied by the documents, the official correspondence, and other evidence on which each relies" must be in the hands of the other party and of the judges within, at farthest, nine

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months from the exchange of the ratifications. But the ratifications were not finally exchanged until mid-June; and, though a whole half-year more had gone before Great Britain announced as her counsel Sir Richard Webster, Mr. Asquith, and Mr. Rowlatt, and before Venezuela retained Mr. Mallet-Prevost, General Harrison, and General Tracy, and yet many months more ere there was added to the British side Sir Robert Reid and to the Venezuelan Mr. James Russell Soley, scholars were from the first at work under the direction of the two governments. Nor were the counsel strangers to the question at issue. Sir Richard, at least, as Attorney-General of Great Britain, must long have known it well; and of yet longer standing or deeper study were Mr. Harrison's relations with it as President of the United States, Mr. Tracy's as a member of his Cabinet, and Mr. Mallet-Prevost's as the Secretary of President Cleveland's Commission.

It was not strange, then, that even the Case of each country, submitted in mid-March of 1898, was able to include in the huge mass of appended evidence a considerable number of fresh documents. Much bulkier and more important was the new evidence published by the Counter-Case which each filed with the other five months later, on the 15th of August. And not less interesting than these new documents were the fresh maps embodied in the handsome atlases with which each state accompanied both Case and Counter-Case. So ended the gathering of evidence. The printed argument next prepared by each party and submitted on December 15 could only interpret and discuss, not enlarge, the testimony already presented. The same restriction governed, of course, the oral argument, which in almost interminable detail dragged on at Paris before the arbiters from June to October of 1899; yet, even at this late stage, by joint consent, more than one item of new testimony was laid before the judges.

Multiple and various were the fresh sources of this fresh evidence. Most fruitful to the British side were perhaps the Hydrographic Depository at Madrid, the colonial archives of British Guiana (where less than had been supposed proved to have fallen a prey to tropical destroyers), and the records of the old Walcheren town of Veere. To the Venezuelans the archives of the old Spanish-American realms, reinforced afresh by those of Spain and of the Capuchin order at Rome, yielded most of value.

But alas for any who shall seek to study these new documents by themselves! Scattered in their chronological order through the vastly greater mass of reprinted ones, they are, save to the most wearisome search, as effectively lost in the thousand pages of Vene-

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zuela's evidence and the nearly two thousand of Great Britain's as— well, as those who wished the judges uninfluenced by earlier conclusions could prefer them to be.

That it is not my purpose to discuss anew the whole of this evidence or the arguments by which it was made to serve the interests of either party I need not say. I have read it all afresh and for its re-weighing have skipped no page of case or argument, not even of the four or five thousand printed pages in which the French compositor has done what he could to make unintelligible the pleas before the judges at Paris; but while leaving uncorrected no palpable slip brought to light in the work done for the American Commission, my aim is rather to point out, without debate, the content of the evidence newly found and the light it seems to throw on the doings and relations of Spaniards and Dutch in Guiana. I cannot bring myself to turn from this study without the passing remark that no American has cause for aught but pride, at least as regards historical knowledge and insight, in the part played by his countrymen, whether as counsel or as judges, in the great lawsuit.

I shall the better reach my aim if my treatment frankly follows that of the American report. Let me, then, deal first with the earliest relations of Spanish and Dutch in Guiana, next with the adjustment of these at the peace of Westphalia, and with the rights and claims of the Dutch West India Company, then with the successive advances by the Dutch into the Essequibo and its neighbor rivers of western Guiana and with their claims in this quarter, and finally with the counter-advances and the rival claims of the Spaniards.

As to the period prior to the last decade of the sixteenth century no fresh evidence was offered either by Great Britain or by Venezuela. Both countries frankly relinquished all assertion of European settlement in Guiana before this date. The Venezuelans still urged with vigor the Spanish discovery and exploration of these coasts, and their British opponents, in belittling these, were able to point out a serious slip in the work of the American experts;[1]

[1] It was, I am happy to add, the *only* such slip they pointed out, and they cleverly made the most of it. The error was a mistaken reading (American Commission's Report, III. 175, 189, 190) of a manuscript note on an old Spanish map of Guiana. The note tells of a certain Arawak cacique, who in the year 1553 went up the Essequibo and descended on the other slope to the Amazon. The blunder lay in failing to notice that the mention of the cacique belonged to the note, and the consequent conjectural ascription of the exploit to "some unnamed explorer—presumably the Spaniard whose explorations the map is meant to illustrate." What made the slip easy was that the map bears elsewhere, in several places, names of Indian caciques; that the "Año 1553" which in this case follows is preceded by a period (after the fashion of the sixteenth century); and that a couple of near-by notes begin likewise with a date. But the blunder was

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but neither longer questioned that European settlement in Guiana began with Berrio's town of Santo Thomé on the Orinoco. It is indeed the explicit assertion of the earliest of the new documents submitted by Great Britain—an exceedingly interesting letter of January 1, 1593, from Don Antonio Berrio himself to the King of Spain, wherein he reports his "ten years spent in continual labors" to penetrate to El Dorado—that "from the mouth of the river Amazon to that of the Orinoco the map shows more than four hundred leagues," and that "in all this breadth and more than fifteen hundred leagues in depth there is not a spot peopled by Spaniards." This letter of Berrio and two later ones printed with it make it impossible longer to credit Fray Pedro Simon's date of 1591 or 1592 for the founding of Santo Thomé, and, when added to Raleigh's silence[1] and to the letters of Felipe de Santiago and of Roque de Montes earlier produced by England, leave small ground for believing that the town can have come into existence (save perhaps as an Indian village harboring Spanish guests) earlier than the very end of 1595.[2] As we know indubitably from Keymis that in April, 1596, it was a "rancheria of some twentie or thirty houses," it can hardly be placed later; and Berrio's letters make it all the clearer that from 1592 on such an occupation of Guiana had been contemplated and in preparation.

At last, too, we are given the text of that letter of Berrio's lieutenant, Domingo de Ybarguen y Vera, of October 27, 1597, which served as the basis of such wild statements in the British Blue-Books. The Dutchmen seized by him prove to be only "five Flemings, . . . found on land, belonging to a Flemish ship which had come to traffic at Margarita and Cumaná, and in this island" (Trinidad); and of the Essequibo he says only "I then went to the river Essequibo, where I had much information as to the people

grave, and I blush for it. Let me only plead in defense that the map, which fell into my hands just at the close of my work in Washington, was mentioned at all only to dismiss it as having "no direct bearing on the question of boundary." The further British claim that "the map cannot be earlier than the seventeenth century because it shows two Spanish towns in Trinidad" I cannot for a moment accede to. It shows no towns in Trinidad. One of the marks thus interpreted is only the ♀ of Trinidad ♀ (*i. e.*, Trinidado—a spelling common among the early explorers, *cf.* Raleigh, Keymis, Wyatt), and the other but a fleck (such as abound on the map) which happens to be near the Spanish word *palmar*, a palm-grove. The handwriting and the orthography, as well as the substance of the notes, show it clearly of the middle of the sixteenth century.

[1] To which should perhaps be added that of Robert Dudley, who sent a boat up the Orinoco in February, 1595, and whose own narrative is now supplemented by the more detailed one of his captain, Wyatt (first published last year by the Hakluyt Society). Yet it is unlikely that Dudley's boat went so far up as the site of Santo Thomé.

[2] This date receives a slight further support from another letter produced by England, written to the King of Spain in 1609 by one of Domingo de Vera's twenty-two hundred colonists.

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wearing clothes and using the same arms in fighting as the people of New Granada"—a passage no longer suggestive of "white men."

But, while Great Britain thus gave over all assertion of Dutch settlement in Guiana prior to 1613, she still stoutly fought the claim that Spain had ever occupied the Essequibo. She even brought bodily to the arbiters the carved keystone of the old fort at Kijkoveral, sometimes thought the work of Portuguese or Spaniards, to show that the emblem on it is not a cross, and offered much expert testimony to prove the architecture Dutch—a conclusion else most probable. To the other evidence for the presence of Spaniards, however, she could oppose only the silence of Spanish records; and this the Venezuelans were able to meet with a fresh paper of much interest—a letter of the Duke of Lerma, who writing on behalf of the King of Spain, February 2, 1615, to the president of the Spanish Council of the Indies, mentions, among the places against which the Dutch were rumored to be planning an attack, Essequibo, "where there are some persons, from twelve to fifteen Spaniards, who there till the soil to raise cassava root, from which bread is made for the Governor of Trinidad and Orinoco."

But not only did both sides agree in accepting for the beginning of Dutch trade on the Guiana coast the year 1598, and for the beginning of Dutch attempts at settlement there the year 1613, there was a unanimity substantially as great as to the first establishment of the Dutch in the Essequibo. If the British lawyers did not explicitly relinquish Major John Scott's tradition of its settlement by "one Captain Gromwegle" in 1616, they admitted its uncertainty, and were content with insisting that "an organized colony under the West India Company was in existence on that river" soon after the creation of the Company in 1621. In support of this they produced, from the manuscripts of the British Museum, the journal of certain "Heads of Families sent by the Directors of the West India Company to visit the Coast of Guiana" in 1623. This journal, written in French (the families seem to have been Huguenots), tells us that "the Directors of the West India Company had resolved at entering on their administration to send to the river Amazon and coast of Guiana," and were begged by one Jesse Des Forests, "who, with the permission of the States-General of the United Provinces, had enrolled several families desirous of inhabiting the said Indies," that these "might be employed in the service of the said Company." But "the said Directors thought that, instead of transporting the said families, it would be better to send a certain number of heads of families, in order . . . to see the places and to choose

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themselves the place of their dwelling." These deputies sailed, accordingly, on July 1, 1623, in the ship *Pigeon* of 100 tons, "to make the voyage to the Amazon." Reaching that river on October 20, they pushed northwestward along the coast, prospecting as they went, as far as the Wiapoco, where they arrived in December. There they selected a place for their colony, and there they were left by their ship, which returned to Holland on the first day of 1624. In the following summer (so, at least, one must infer from the scanty extracts, which, alas, are all that is printed of this precious document), a flotilla having meanwhile arrived from Holland, they pressed on westward with their prospecting and on August 15, 1624, reached the Demerara. Thence, on the 16th, they write, "our sloop went to Ezikebe [Essequibo] to carry our master on board the Admiral to learn his wishes;" and, on the 22d, "our sloop having returned, our ship went to Ezikebe to fetch the remainder of the merchandise which the Admiral had left there." There they tarried till the 28th, when they returned to the Demerara, and, having first transferred the Admiral into a ship which was to return home, they sailed on September 9 for the Carribbean Islands. In this description of the Essequibo, which shows that they ascended the river as far as the confluence of Cuyuni and Mazaruni, they remark that "the Spaniards of San Thomé" (so the British editors acutely translate the "Saint Omer" of the French text) "formerly traded there, but now they dare not go there," and their journal later quotes "a Frenchman who lived there three years," and who had been "above the second fall of the river, where there was a crystal mine;" but there is no mention of any previous Dutch occupation, nor is there anything to imply that the expedition here described had other aim or result than exploration and trade. Yet it is at least not improbable that a Dutch outlier may have remained in the river from this time forward; and the difference between this date of August, 1624, and that of 1625, reached by the Americans and accepted by the Venezuelans, is insignificant. It is a thousand pities that this journal, which so happily helps replace a lost record-book of the West India Company, could not be published in full.

On the vicissitudes of the trading-post in the Essequibo prior to the end of the long war with Spain no further light has been thrown. As to the hostile activity of Dutch fleets and privateers in the Orinoco and its creeks Great Britain was able, however, to produce from Spanish archives testimony of moment: (1) a report of the Spanish governor, the Marquis of Sofraga, who, writing from Bogotá in July, 1631, avers that, after the sacking of Santo

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Thomé by the Dutch in 1629, "other squadrons of corsairs came and settled and fortified themselves in the arms and creeks of the river Orinoco" as well as in the island of Tobago, and that "information has been received that the same or another squadron was coming this year to take possession of the city and of a quicksilver mine which is said to have been discovered close to it on the bank of the said river Orinoco;" (2) a memorandum by Don Juan Desologuren, dated in November 1637 at the same Spanish-American capital, wherein, relating the expulsion of the Dutch from Tobago by the Spaniards in 1636 and their taking refuge in the Essequibo and the Berbice, he asserts that "on the river Orinoco itself, and on its most important mouth, in the same part of the mainland as the settlement of Santo Thomé de la Guayana, at thirty leagues' distance from it, there were ten Dutch waiting for reinforcements to fortify themselves from the year 1636;" (3) some eight or ten documents of the Spaniards of Orinoco in 1637 and 1638, whose testimony goes to support that already published as to the presence of Dutchmen in the Amacura immediately before and after the renewed Dutch sack of Santo Thomé in 1637. Just what faith, in the absence of all confirmation from Dutch sources, these Spanish rumors deserve, it is not easy to know; but it can no longer be doubted that they have a basis of fact.[1] That there was on the part of the Dutch West India Company, however, any thought of settlement here, is, in view of the silence of its records, hardly to be believed; and side by side with the documents just described is produced a letter written to the King of Spain in 1634 by the Bishop of Porto Rico, who, making now his first pastoral visitation in Guiana (which seven years before had been transferred to his diocese), reports the interesting news that Santo Thomé "had been removed, for rather more than a year, six leagues distant from where it used to be, in order to occupy a more concealed position on the river Orinoco, and one not so unhealthy, beside which the place is better defended against the Dutch," and who urges especially upon His Majesty the necessity of better protecting his colony from these foes, yet expressly names as the nearest post of the Dutch that on the Essequibo.

No fresh evidence has thrown new light upon the purpose or the interpretation of the disputed clauses of the Treaty of Münster. The British advocates persist in seeing in them an express admission of a right of the Dutch to all conquests they could make in America; while their opponents, going to the opposite extreme, would make them an express grant to the Dutch of what they had

[1] The suspicion uttered in the American Commission's report (I. 294), that they may rest on an error, must therefore be withdrawn.

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already seized or could conquer from the Portuguese alone, and hence, by implication, prohibition of all else. In support of their contention the Venezuelans were indeed able to produce a plea of the West India Company in its controversy with the English over New Netherland a dozen years later (November 5, 1660) which averred that "the King of Spain, first discoverer and founder of this new American world," had "at the conclusion of the peace made over to the United Netherland Provinces all his right and title to such countries and domains as by them in course of time had been conquered in Europe, America, etc.;" and the Britons on their side could point, not only to the contemporary report of the French envoys at Münster (that, while "the King of Spain consents to be debarred from extending his boundaries in the East Indies," and to limit them to what he now occupies there, he agrees that "the conquests which may be made by the United Provinces either over the natives of the country or over the Portuguese shall remain theirs"), but also to the verdict of the later Dutch statesman Basnage that "this article was advantageous to the Republic because Spain bound her hands and undertook not to make any new conquests in the East, while the Dutch retained the power to extend their limits far and wide in America, and particularly in Brazil." Yet, despite these dicta, and the clever arguments based upon them, I cannot believe that to any historian who has breathed the air of the seventeenth century they will carry conviction. As we know from their own lips, the Dutch, who drew the treaty, had no mind that Spain, in such a document, should assume either to permit or to forbid their conquest of territory hers only by claim. The treaty left them free by its silence, it did not make them so by its stipulations; and no more than this, surely, can have been meant by Basnage[1] or the French envoys. As for the quoted words of the West India Company, they were a desperate special plea to meet an English claim of prior settlement, and were blushed for as soon as uttered; for in the very next paragraph their authors protest that they deem "such claim and forced argument" unnecessary.[2] Of the rights and claims of the Dutch West India Company, indeed, nothing really new was learned by either side, and the sweeping statements of the British Blue-Books were now abandoned or greatly modified.[3]

[1] Had I not held this view of Basnage's meaning and looked on it as self-evident, I should be more chagrined by my omission of these words of his from my report to the American Commission than by anything else these later researches have suggested.

[2] Brodhead, *Documents relative to the Colonial History of New York*, II. 139.

[3] That so misleading a statement as that "the Wild Coast was the original name of the coast between the Orinoco and the Essequibo" (where, of course, for Essequibo should be read Amazon) could be retained in a footnote to the British evidence was, I am convinced, only an oversight: no attempt was made, in the argument, to use or to defend it.

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More fortunate was the inquiry into the doings of the Dutch on the Essequibo. Upon the earliest history of that settlement, it is true, no fresh light was thrown, unless one take seriously the Spanish rumor[1] that a part of the Dutch colonists expelled from Tobago in 1636 "finally settled on the river Essequibo, a hundred leagues off, a hundred and twenty in number with many negroes"—a rumor which, however unreliable in itself and discredited by the silence of Dutch records, gains a touch of plausibility from the "sap of sugar cane" sent home by the Essequibo commander in the following spring, but which, even if credible, loses all significance through the known return to Holland of the Essequibo colonists in the summer of 1637. On the character and activities of the colony just at the end of the seventeenth century, however, a flood of knowledge is brought us by the discovery and the publication in full of an official diary of its administration covering the two years from July 1, 1699, to June 14, 1701—a document filling more than a hundred printed pages. Yet this gossipy journal's yield for the history of the colony's civilization is much greater than for that of its boundaries. As to the whereabouts of these it tells us nothing; but nowhere had we so vivid a picture of the part played in the life of the colony by its outrunners and postholders. From it we first learn of the existence somewhere above the rapids in the Cuyuni of a dye-store (*i. e.*, a station for the bartering-in of annatto from the Indians) such as we already knew to have existed somewhere on the Mazaruni.

To our knowledge of Dutch doings in the Pomeroon and the Moruca the new research was of especial profit. In the neglected archives of the old Dutch town of Veere the British searchers found a body of papers which nearly or quite doubles our knowledge of the Guiana colony planted in 1658 by the Walcheren cities. Especially is this true as regards its obscure later years. From a long letter written in March of 1663 by the then Commandeur in the Pomeroon, J. De Fijn, we learn not only of the thrift and importance of the colonists settled on the Moruca, but furthermore of the maintenance in that river of a fort, known as the *Huis Nassau*. The prosperity of this colony is confirmed by fresh Spanish testimony. Writing from Santo Thomé in March, 1662, to the King of Spain, Don Pedro de Viedma reports that "he had sent a person to reconnoitre the settlements," and that "there are two foundations, one of 150 Dutch and another of 280, and to these are added 200 wealthy Indians, of those expelled from Brazil, and that in the two settlements they have introduced 1500 negro slaves for their

[1] In Don Juan Desologuren's memorandum of November 19, 1637, mentioned above.

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plantations; and that besides these there is the fort of Essequibo, which has been founded more than thirty years, and that "the person who was sent to reconnoitre was told by the Dutch that they were expecting more people for the purpose of completing the settlement of those rivers, and two shiploads of negroes." And in a later letter of the same month he is able to state that the Dutch in the Pomeroon and the Moruca now number "more than a thousand men, with four hundred Indians and a greater number of negroes, founding a new Brazil." Similar in purport are the sworn statements of one Clement Gunter, a member of the Dutch colony, who in 1655, on a trading expedition into the Orinoco, was arrested and imprisoned by the Spanish authorities.

Of the history of the second Dutch colony in Pomeroon and Moruca (1686–1689) nothing new is told us; nor is our knowledge of the later Dutch occupancy of those rivers materially increased by the later researches. The British searchers seem even to have overlooked or underrated a land-grant of whose existence I have knowledge through another channel and which it can now be no breach of faith to publish for the behoof of history—it is the grant to Frederic Beissenteufel, on January 6, 1760, of a thousand acres on the west side of the Moruca at its mouth.[1] Of the existence of this plantation we had known, and that it was at the mouth of the river, but not on which side; and the grant is interesting, not alone as our one proof of Dutch settlement west of that river, but because it fixes as well the site of the Dutch lookout established here in 1757 and of the fortified post maintained on the same spot from 1784 onward. As we know these to have been on Beissenteufel's land, they too must have been at the west of the Moruca.

But, if British search missed this at home, it unearthed in Spain a precious paper which had eluded the search of the Venezuelans—the lost diary of Inciarte, the young Spanish officer who in 1779 made, as "Commissioner of Settlements on the Eastern Side of the Lower Orinoco," an elaborate reconnoissance of the whole region from Orinoco to Pomeroon, and whose summary report had alone been hitherto known. Interesting especially is his minute description of the Moruca post—"an ordinary house, roofed with thatch and barred with large beams, without mud and wattle," its means of defense consisting of "two four-pounders and sundry swivel-guns, all dismounted." Other evidence of Dutch occupation, whether in the Moruca or the Pomeroon, he seems to have

[1] "Aen Fredrik Bysenteufel syn toegestaen een duysent akkers aen de Westsyde van Moroca van de nieuwe brandwagt de kreek opwaarts, als mede eenige broodgronden, mits de Indiaenen geen hinder doende."

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found none save that in the latter river, just above where it receives the Tapacuma creek, he saw "a silk cotton tree, at the side of which," as an Arawak Indian assured him, "in times past a Dutchman from Essequibo had his dwelling and good farms." There, having landed, Inciarte "found almost on the very bank a cocoa plantation of a few huge trees with a multitude of little plants"—probably a survival of the colony of the preceding century. Yet more interesting, perhaps, is the map drawn up at the same time by the young engineer and now first published. It is the most careful one of this region prior to the researches of Schomburgk, and it leaves us no doubt as to the site of the points described by Inciarte. It is amusing to note how even this careful explorer shared the Spanish belief in a *town* of Essequibo—"*villa de Esquibo*"—which he places on the west shore of the river, opposite Fort Island.

It was already known—though now in more detail—that, on the basis of his reconnoissance, Inciarte recommended to the Spanish authorities the establishment of two fortified settlements, one at the site of the Dutch post on the upper Moruca, the other in the Pomeroon; but the Venezuelans now produce a somewhat startling body of documents showing that this project for the occupation of lower Guiana was never lost from sight by Spain till the very eve of the revolt of the colonies.

As to the Waini and the Barima, Inciarte's diary and map are, of course, not less precious evidence than as to their eastern neighbors. Of the only trace of European occupation he found here—the abandoned plantation of the Dutchman "Mener Nelch"—he speaks no more fully than in the report we had already; but its site, on the Aruka, he describes with more minuteness. More novel and not less interesting is the much earlier testimony of the above-quoted letter of De Fijn, Commandeur of the Dutch in the Pomeroon, as to a seventeenth-century reconnoissance of the Barima. "Having left the river Orinoco," writes the Dutch governor, who is reporting to his principals in Holland a trading trip which at their instance he has just made to Santo Thomé, "and coming by way of the river Barima on January 15, 1663, I resolved to inspect the aforesaid place, in order to see whether it was suitable to dwell in and whether vessels could navigate the river." Accordingly he pushed up the stream some twenty hours as far as a creek (doubtless the Aruka) 16 or 17 Dutch miles, as he thought, from the mouth of the river. Here, "fully half an hour up," he found high land "with fairly good soil and which could well be settled by our people if the population in these regions be-

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came so great that all the lands now lying idle were cultivated." It is our earliest tidings of Dutch interest in the Barima. Nor does the new research bring us aught else which adds to our knowledge of Dutch activity in these parts or makes more probable the existence there at any time of a Dutch post or of other settlers than those already known; for the present-day testimony, Indian and official, to the presence along the Barima of signs of old-time cultivation proves nothing as to its date or source.

But to the history of the Barima there comes a contribution from an unexpected quarter. In April of 1899 M. Henri Froidevaux, than whom there is no more eminent student of French colonial history (he has since been called to a lectureship in that subject at the Sorbonne), wrote for the *Revue des Questions Historiques* an admirable review of "the American reports on the Anglo-Venezuelan controversy." It is not merely a review: it supplements. Much more, he states from personal knowledge, might have been learned of the part played in the Barima by the French of the Antilles in the eighteenth century. The errand of Nicolas Gervais, the French Bishop of Oran, on these shores about 1730 was, he intimates, something beyond the conversion of the Indians. He knows of "French designs on this region between 1730 and 1740," mentioning the formation at this date at St. Pierre in Martinique of a private company whose object was to colonize the territories between the Orinoco and the Essequibo and which sent in 1738 an expedition, under one Foucaut du Razet, "to visit these places and there make the inspection necessary for the proposed establishment." This expedition, whose report, he says, may be found in the archives of the French Ministry of the Colonies,[1] coasted the mainland from the Essequibo to the Barima and along the southern mouth of the Orinoco, seeking four Frenchmen who were alleged to have been for seventeen months in that region. The Caribs entered readily into negotiations with them, which are recounted at some length. Foucaut du Razet heard also, in these parts, from a Frenchman who had long lived in the Essequibo, the story that this region had been given to the Elector of Bavaria, who had ceded it to the King of Sweden—only, in this French version, it was not the King of Spain, but "*La France*," that "gave this part of *la France équinoxiale*" to Bavaria. What is more, he can tell us what became of the Swedish enterprise which, a few years earlier, stirred such alarm in Orinoco and Essequibo. "The King of Sweden," he says, "sent thither three years and a half ago[2] one of his

[1] "Correspondance Générale, C^{14}, Guyane, Tome XVII. (1737–1740), fol. 339 et s."

[2] It is not easy to reconcile this date, so exactly given, with the 1732 of which we learn from the Spanish testimony.

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vessels to reconnoitre the place and take possession; but this vessel having perished on the way back to Europe, with all on board, *par le travers de la Bermude*, no Swede has ever again been seen here."

This Swedish legend[1] has been made an object of careful research by an English scholar, too, the Rev. George Edmundson, who devoted to it an interesting article in the *English Historical Review* for January, 1899. For a cession to or by the Elector of Bavaria he can find neither proof nor probability, nor was a Swedish charter or royal commission ever granted for such a Guiana colony; whence he concludes that the Barima project "was probably a private enterprise, connived at perhaps and indirectly supported by the Swedish government, but without any actual sanction of the authorities." Is it not possible that the Bavarian legend is an outgrowth of the actual Guiana grant in 1669 by the Dutch to the Count of Hanau? The promoter of this Hanau scheme, the versatile Dr. Becher, had earlier been in relations with the court of Bavaria, and this court is said to have made (about 1665) overtures first to the Dutch West India Company and then to England for the grant of a stretch of the Guiana coast.

As to the Amacura, except the evidence already mentioned for the presence of Dutchmen there in 1730–1740, nothing new has come to light.[2] Nor, although Dutch haunting and harassing of the Orinoco was yet more abundantly shown, was there found any evidence of attempt at possession in that river.

More fruitful was the research as to the great western branches of the Essequibo. The much vexed question of the Cuyuni posts was set almost at rest by it. Nothing was found, indeed, as to the short-lived, if existent, one of 1703; but as to that of 1754–1758 there is now produced from the archives at Madrid[3] a letter from the banks of the Caroni written on August 27, 1758, by the Capuchin missionary Father Bispal to the Spanish commandant Iturriaga, which contains this luminous passage: "In the river Cuyuni the

[1] As illustrating the obtrusiveness of this legend it is interesting to note that Inciarte, writing in 1779 from the Dutch post of Moruca to his chief the Spanish Intendant at Caracas, reports that the under-postholder there, "Paul Fernero" (Paulus Vermeere), "said that the former Director-General of Essequibo told him in a letter, that the lands and rivers of Moruca and Guaina [Waini] belonged in ownership to the Dutch, and the creek of Barima and its lands to Sweden." The Director-General meant must be Storm van's Gravesande; but Vermeere's statement is wholly incredible.

[2] Something has rather been lost; for the Spanish mission of Amacuro, mentioned in a footnote of the American Commission's report (I. 297) was on the Paria coast, and the "Amacura" guarded by Indians in 1797 proves but a misreading of Moruca.

[3] Hydrographic Depository, Madrid, B, 4a, Viceroyalty of Santa Fe, Vol. II., doc. No. 16.

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Dutch continue doing somewhat; last year, 1757, in an island of the said Cuyuni called Tocoropati, two days' journey above the mouth of the said river, they commenced a fortified house on the top of a little hill in the said island, and a cane plantation and a sugar mill in the lower part of the island; and this year the house is already built and fortified, and the mill is grinding the cane from the plantation." This testimony is confirmed and amplified by two letters of the following month (from the same archives), in which the Capuchin prefect, Benito de la Garriga, reports to Iturriaga the Spanish raid on the Dutch post. "Navigating down stream," he writes, "they found an island of much elevation called Tocoropata, where the Post was a short time previously (it was abandoned because it had not sufficient lands for plantations), and on the way they burnt the houses, with those of the ten negroes, in which also lived several postholders; and, after half a day's navigation, they arrived at Aguigua, on the mainland, on this side of Cuyuni, where the Dutch had taken the preliminary steps for establishing the post —the farm cleared and not burned, large, with one or two huts, with the object of at once making a stronghold when they had sufficient provisions—in the meantime maintaining themselves on flour of maize and wheat, spending the articles of barter given them by the Governor for their support." In the face of such evidence the British relinquished their claim that the post was at or near the mouth of the Curumo, and both sides agreed in recognizing the island of Tokoro as the first site of the post. Adequate explanation seeming to both thus found of Schomburgk's Indian tradition of a post in that island, they further concurred in placing the restored post of 1766–1769 not far above that island in the Tonoma rapids where it found its last site. It is not improbable that in this they were right; yet, in view of the explicitness of that tradition, of the absence of evidence for any other site, of the known presence of bread-grounds at the new post, and of the Dutch governor's aggressive purpose, I must still think it possible that the first site of this later post too was at Tokoro. No other Dutch dealings in the upper Cuyuni or Mazaruni were disclosed, save that the dye-collecting, timber-cutting, and food-gathering there was made more vivid by fresh illustration.

On Dutch or Spanish claim to boundary in Guiana no new light was thrown. It was made clearer than ever that the Spaniards counted the Dutch intruders and that the Dutch felt free to encroach on unoccupied lands; but the Dutch remonstrance of 1769 remains the one official communication between the two states suggesting a definite frontier.

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As to Spanish occupation and Spanish aggressions, however, the Venezuelans produced fresh evidence of some importance. The existence of the westernmost of the Spanish missions, that of Curumo, was established by the contemporary testimony of the Capuchin prefect, from which we learn the date of its formal dedication, or "founding" (June, 1749), the number and tribe of its Indians (180 Caribs), and the precise duration of its existence (a year and four months), and was confirmed by that of the Spanish governor of the province. Much of detail (which, however, as in the case of the Curumo mission, only strengthened results already reached for the American Commission) was gained, too, as to the identity and activities of these missions in general. Of the remoter Spanish movements in the Wenamu, the Mazaruni, the Siparuni, rumored by a scared Dutch postholder in 1756, nothing more could be learned. The existence and site of the Spanish fortified post on the Cuyuni, they were able, however, to support by added evidence. Regarding no point of fact was the controversy so keen or so stubborn. A page of Governor Marmion's manuscript was photographed in the Spanish archives to demonstrate that the new town which in October, 1793, he reported as having been begun was near the union of the Cuyuni with the Curumo, and not (as it had been unintelligibly transcribed for Great Britain) with the Orinoco;[1] and the original of Schomburgk's great physical map of Guiana had to be produced in court to show his representation of the ruins of this post (on the south of the Cuyuni, a little below its confluence with the Curumo), somehow left out in the British reproduction of the map.

As to Spanish doings in the coast region, I have already spoken of the recovery of the interesting journal of Inciarte's bold reconnoissance in 1779, and of the documents showing the Spanish schemes later based on it. Next to these in interest was perhaps a fragment, of the year 1785, from the diary of Captain Mateo Beltran, the Spanish coast-guard who during that decade was a terror to the Dutch in the region adjoining the Orinoco. But, while these amply illustrate the Spanish aim to control this district, there is in them no mention of the slightest actual settlement there.

Such is what seems to me the most important new evidence brought to light during the course of the arbitral proceedings; and such in brief are the changes which this evidence makes necessary

[1] There fell into my hands in 1898, bought from the Paris bookseller Dufossé (in whose catalogue Professor Jameson, my old colleague of the boundary investigation, espied it and pointed it out to me), what is clearly an earlier draft of this report of Marmion's, corrected and annotated by his own hand. It tells nothing more, but confirms the testimony of the final document. It now belongs to the Cornell University Library.

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in the historical conclusions reached for the American Commission. It goes without saying that I have left much undiscussed. The scholar who shall some day write in full the story of Spaniards and of Dutch in South America must sift for himself afresh the whole of the vast unindexed mass. But, till he shall appear, I trust this postscript to the researches of the American Commission may be of some use to the student of this chaper of colonial history.

GEORGE LINCOLN BURR.

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DOCUMENTS

Diary of John Harrower, 1773–1776

THAT indented servants were a large class among the emigrants to the American colonies is well known, but it is not to be expected that we should ever obtain a large amount of knowledge of the fortunes of a class so obscure and inarticulate. It is known, also, that of the many Scottish indented servants who came to Virginia before the Revolution, some were employed as schoolmasters. But it was by no means to be expected that we should be able to print, not only the actual diary of an indented servant, but that of one belonging to this peculiarly interesting class. That we are permitted to do so is owing to the kindness of Mrs. Sally Nelson Robins, assistant librarian of the Virginia Historical Society. The document, printed with necessary omission of portions not now interesting, affords most valuable glimpses into the life of an indented servant in America, even though the writer was plainly above the average of that class in intelligence and not all his experiences are typical. The book in which the diary is written is a small quarto volume (about 8 x 6 in.) bound in vellum, and containing at present 145 pages. It once contained a few more. It was found among the papers of the Corbin family, of Moss Neck and Farley Vale, Virginia.

Diligent efforts have been made to discover something of the earlier history of John Harrower, of Lerwick in Shetland. These have been seconded, with the utmost kindness, by James M. Goudie, Esq., of Lerwick, a devoted student of Shetland antiquities, and by Francis J. Grant, Esq., Rothesay Herald, Edinburgh. But little has been found. Mr. Goudie has obligingly sent a series of contributions by him to the *Shetland Times*, embracing extracts from the kirk-session records of Lerwick, and others entitled "Annals of the County of Zetland," edited by another hand. These cast light upon some of the friends mentioned by Harrower, they illustrate the surroundings from which he emigrated, and they to a certain extent exhibit his points of contact with America before he thought of coming here. Thus, on October 15, 1773, only seven weeks before he left his home, a letter from the sheriff substitute is laid before the kirk-session asking charitable aid for the many destitute

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passengers of a ship wrecked at Walls, a few miles away, and confined there for a time by reason of the infection among them. It was an emigrant ship. The Rev. Mr. Mill says in his *Diary*[1] concerning it:

"A vessel from Leith with 260 emigrants for North Carolina was by stress of weather put into Vela Sound in Walls. The smallpox at same time carried off severals, and some of their children crammed in the hold were said to be stifled to death and thrown overboard into the sea, before they landed; after which the vessel was driven from her anchors, and so damaged that they could not, for several months, put to sea again. The people were dispersed through the several parishes for subsistence according to the Sheriff's decreet. They went back for Leith in April, and the project for America thereby miscarried."

But only two direct references to John Harrower have been discovered in Lerwick records. One shows him, as one of the heritors or landholders of the parish, attending a meeting in December, 1765, which votes to send to Scotland for a supply of oatmeal for the poor. The other, January 14 of the same year, is the record of his admission into the Morton Lodge of Freemasons,—"Harrower, John, Merchant, Lerwick." In records at Edinburgh Mr. Grant finds evidence that he came to Shetland after 1750. He also finds in the Sasine Register, under date of 1762, 1767 and 1770, three evidences of tenements held by "John Harrower merchant in Lerwick and Anna Graham his spouse." This would seem to have been a previous wife; or the pair may possibly have been our Harrower's father and mother.

Evidently Harrower was a minor person in Lerwick. Yet he wrote a very good hand, and was fairly well educated at a time when schools hardly existed in Shetland. Whatever may have been the cause of his leaving home (there is no fuller indication than that contained in his letter to his brother-in-law), every page of the diary shows that he was frugal and industrious to a high degree, and he was evidently much regarded by Colonel Daingerfield. Finally, if Jock, his oldest child, was born in November, 1762, he may not improbably have been thirty-five or forty when he left Lerwick. Nothing more is known of his subsequent life than that, after his sojourn at "Belvidera," he became a sort of manager at "Moss Neck," near Fredericksburg, the home of Richard Corbin. For this information, and for some of the footnotes, we are indebted to Mrs. Robins.

As to Mrs. Harrower, Mr. Goudie writes:

"His wife belonged to one of the leading families in the town—the Craigies of Stebbiegrind. A portion of the sea-front of the town still

[1] *Diary of the Reverend James Mill* (Scottish History Society, V.), p. 40.

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bears their name—'Craigie's Stane.' Miss Turnbull Stewart, a representative of the Craigie family whose residence is the Old Manse, informs me that Mrs. Harrower died in that house. She further says that she remembers coming across an old letter addressed to one of the Craigies, in which the hope was expressed that Mrs. Harrower was being cared for. Nothing is known about Mrs. Harrower's children, but it is evident that she did not join her husband in America."

The old letter referred to may have been that of August 28, 1775, addressed to Captain James Craigie.

DIARY.

Munday, 6th Decr 1773. This morning I left my house[1] and family at 4 OClock in order to travel in search of business and imediatly went on board a sloop ready to saile for Leith, Oconachie Mr and at 5 OClock he sailed Accordingly with the wind at N. At this time I am Master of no more Cash but 8½d and stockins[2] &c. to the amount of £3 stg[3] or thereabout, a small value indeed to traviel with.[4]

Munday, 27th. Wind at S. E. with heavy rain. Both the Smacks in the River yet. This evening it being St. John's night the Free Masons made a very grand procession through the high street. they began at 6 pm and it was 11 pm before the last loge hade done. they were attended by a party of the Grandideers[5] who carried their flambows and each Loge walked seperatly, they being three.

Tuesday, 28th. Wind at E. fine weather. this day I once thought of engaging with the Mr of the Elizabeth Brigantine bound for North Carolina but the thoughts of being so far from my family prevented me. at noon the wind came all round to the N. V.[6] and then Mr. began to make ready as fast as possible for sailing.

Wednesday, 29th. At 2 AM left my Loging having been here 16 days and my method of living was as follows Vizt for Breackfast ½d. worth of bread ½d. worth of Cheese and a bottle of ale at 1d. For dinner ½d. worth of bread, ½d. worth of Broath, 1d. worth of Meat and a bottle of ale at 1d. and the same for supper as for breackfast, and 1d. a night for my bedd. On leaving my logings at the time above mentioned I went onbd the sloop Williams, Wm. Bell Mr, for Newcastle, and he imediatly hauled out of the harbour and made saile with the Wind at N. N. V. At 9 pm was obliged to ly too for the tide on Tynemouth bar. at midnight bore away for the Bar and got weel over it.

Thursday, 30th. At 1 AM we passed by shiels[7] and went up the River Tyne, and at 2 AM made fast to Newcastle Key, we having been

[1] At Lerwick.

[2] Shetland stockings were famous, and were already an important article of export.

[3] Pounds sterling as distinguished from pounds Scots, the ordinary money of account in Shetland.

[4] Persuading the master to set him ashore at Montrose, Harrower walked thence to Dundee, where he remained from December 13 to December 29.

[5] Grenadiers.

[6] *I. e.*, NW.

[7] Shields.

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no more than 24 hours from Dundee here 3 of which we lay too. At 9 AM I went ashore to Newcastle in Compy with Mr Bell and 5 others who were passangers along with me, and after drinking a English poynt of ale a piece I enquired at the Pilots and others if there was any Vessel presently at Newcastle bound for Holland but found there was none. At same time was informed that Sunderland was a more proper place to look out for a ship bound there. . . .

Munday, 3d Jany, 1774.[1] This day snowing very hard, Wind at N. N. E. At 9 AM went out to see if I cou'd sell any stockins, but returned again at 10 AM without selling any; I then paid my bedd for two nights which cost me 2d. each night at same time sent out for ½ worth of bread and 1d. worth of cheese for my breackfast and I found both bread and Cheese far less for the money than at Dundee. Yesterday I neither eat nor drank any thing all day but my dinner which cost me 6½ and Just now I am Master of no more Cash than 1s. 1½d. and when I shall get more God only knows. At 11 AM Crossed the River to South Sunderland and Called to see Wm. Scollay, but was told he was not at home. after that I traviled the Town untill 2 pm in which time I sold three pair of stockins for four shillings and four pence, which was eight pence less than they cost me in Zetland. I then returned home and bought 1d. worth of bread 1d. worth of cheese and 1d. worth of small beer which served me for dinner and supper.

Wednesday, 5th. Wind and weather as yesterday. this afternoon I hear of a Brigantine called the Nancy ready load for Holland, and that she always used that trade.

Thursday, 6th. Wind at S. and a verry gentle thaw. at 8 AM I went to Warmouth[2] and spacke with Mr. George Lacen [?] Comr of the Nancy Brigantine, who informed me, that he himself was not sure where he was to go, But that I might speacke to Mr John Taylor the Owner which I immediatly did and he told me, that if the Rivers was open the Nancy would go to Holland, if not probably to London, and that I was extreamly welcome to my passage. I then waited on Mr. Lacen and aquanted him of the same, and imediatly put my trunk and bundle on board.

Freiday, 7th. Got out of bedd at 6 AM this morning. at 8 AM went. at 9 AM they began to haul out of the harbour and came to an Anchor in the Roads at 10 AM and lay in the road untill four keels of Coals was put on board, each keel being Twenty Tun, and they were all Onbd by half an houre past noon. At 1 pm got under saile with the wind at N. B. E.[3] with a verry high sea runing, a great deall of which she shipped all this afternoon. steered until midnight S. S. E.[4]

[1] At Sunderland, where no ships for Holland were to be found, the ice in the Dutch rivers precluding the voyage.

[2] Monk Wearmouth, opposite Sunderland.

[3] *I. e.*, north by east.

[4] From this time till noon of the 11th the brigantine sailed along the English coast, finally coming to anchor at Portsmouth, where the captain went ashore to sell his coal and where Harrower vainly sought passage to Holland.

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Wednesday, 12th. This morning fine clear weather but hard frost. I waited onb[d]. untill three pm for Cap[t]. Lacoers [?] returning. But when I found he did not I left a letter of thanks to him for his favours shown me, for he would take no passage money from me, Besides that he used me like a Brother making me sleep and eat with himself; I then went ashore and immediately set out for London with no more cash in my pocket [but] 1s. 8½d. St[r]. I pray, May God provide more for me and for all who are in strait. Immediatly as I left Portsmouth I fell into Comp[y] and conversaition on the road to whome I sold two pair of stockins 4/6d. it being the price they cost me in Zetland. I traveled four Miles this afternoon and lodged all night at Post doun[1] bridge and the House had a Battery of Twelve Canon round it. here I supped on eight Oisters and 1d. and ½ worth of Bread, with a poynt of strong and a poynt of small beer which [cost] me 3d., being in all 4½d. for supper, here I paid 3d. for my bedd, and it was warmed with a warming pan, this being the first time I ever seed it done.

Thursday, 13th. Wind at E. so thick that I could not see above 100 yards distance. I crossed over Post doun hill and Breackfast at Handen,[2] and after crossing a large barren Common of that name I dinned at Petersfield and then Got as far as Raik in the County of Sussex where I staid all night, having traviled twenty miles this [day] which is more than I did expect carring my Box and Bundle on my back; They have for firing here, nothing but a kind [of] heath like flaws.[3] at this place I paid 3d. for my bedd, My diet being all the old storry, Bread, Cheese and beer, and I hade a Rush Candle to light me to bedd.

Freiday, 14th. This morning I sold in my lodgings sundry articles to the amount of 18/9d. St[r] which Articles cost me £1.5/6 St[r]. So that necessity obliged me to lose 6/9d. . . .

Sunday, 16th. This day after breackfast and read[g] some Chapters on a Newtestament I found in my room, I made the two following verses which I here insert below.

My absent friends God bless, and those,
my wife and Children dear;
I pray for pardon to my foes,
And for them sheds a tear.
At Epsom here this day I ly,
Repenting my past sins;
Praying to Jesus for his mercy,
And success to my friends.

Here I hade an extream good dinner in Publick, for sixpence. in the Afternoon I took a Walk and seed round this place a great many fine Houses and gardens most of them belonging to Londoners.

[1] Portsdown.
[2] Horndean.
[3] Flax.
[4] Harrower then walked on by way of Godalming and Guildford to Epsom, where he spent Sunday.

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[*Tuesday*], *18th.* This day I got to London and was like a blind man without a guide, not knowing where to go being freindless and having no more money but fifteen shillings and eight pence farthing a small sum to enter London with; But I trust in the mercys of God who is a rich provider and am hopefull before it is done some way will cast up for me. I took up my lodging at the old ship Tavern in little Hermitage street,[1] Mr. George Newton being the landlord, but in Prison for debt at present.

Wednesday, 19th. This day I shifted my cloaths and put on a clean Ruffled Shirt, clean Britches and waistcoat and my Brown Coat, I not having any other cloaths on ever since I left Lerwick but my blew Jacket and Bigg Coat above it and a plain shirt. At 11 AM I called to see Cap.t Perry, but was told he would not be at home untill 5 pm. Having eat nothing for 24 houres, I dinned in my Lodging this day which cost me 1/2 St.r. After dinner I took a walk with the mate of a ship a Scotsman who carried me through Virginia street, London street, part of White Chappel street, down to London Hospitall, through Ragg fair, the Minnories, Round Tour hill, and the Tour, through Saint Catharins, and Bur street and so home.

A 5 pm called again at Cap.t Perrys and the first face I saw was Willie Holcraw of Coningsburgh[2] who I found staid here as a servant, and while I was speacking to him, Cap.t Perry came home and he immediatly knew me, and desired me to walk in which I did, and after sitting some time and drinking some tea, I called Cap.t Perry aside and made my Intentions known to him, at same time begged his advice and assistance; He told me he hardly thought there would be any Business got for me in London. But told me to call on him at the Jamacia Coffee House to morrow at Change time. I then went home. and soon went to Bedd.

Thursday, 20th. This morning breackfast at home and paid 6d. for it. At noon called at the Jamacia Coffee House and soon after seed Cap.t Perry and waited here and Change untill 3 pm but no appearance of any Business for me. the time I was in the Coffee house I drank 3ds. worth of punch, and I was obliged to make it serve me for Dinner. at night I hade ½d. worth of bread and 1d. of Cheese and a poynt of Porter for supper it being all I cou'd afford.

Freiday, 21st. This morning I seed an advertisement for Bookeepers and Clerks to go to a Gentlemen [at] Philadelphia. I went as it directed to N.o 1 in Catharine Court princes street, but when I came there I was told they were served. I then waited again on Cap.t Perry untill after 3 pm But to no purpose. I this day offered to go steward of a ship bound to Maryland but could not get the birth. This day I was 3 or 4 miles through London and seed S.t Paul's Church, the Bank of England where

[1] In Wapping, near the London Docks.

[2] Or Cunningsburgh, a village about eight miles south of Lerwick. The name Halcrow appears frequently in the documents printed as appendixes to the *Diary of the Reverend James Mill, Minister of the Parishes of Dunrossness, Sandwick and Cunningsburgh* (Scottish History Society, V.).

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I seed the gold lying in heaps, I also seed Summerst house,[1] Gild hall, Drury Lane, Covingarden,[2] Adelphus Buildings and several other pleaces. I then returnd and near my lodgings I dinned at an eating house and hade 4d. worth of roast Beiff 1d. worth of bread and a poynt of small beer, in all 5½d.

Saturday, 22d. This morning I seed an advertisement in the Publick ledger for a Messenger to a publick Lodge, Sallery 15/ St^r^ per week and another advertisement for an under Clerk to a Merch^t^ to both which I wrote answers and went to the places apointed, and found at each place more than a dozen of Letters before me, so that I hade litle expectation that way they being all weel aquanted and I a stranger. I then went to change to see if any thing would cas[t] up but to no purpose, so I returned hom at 4 pm and spent the evening in a verry sollitary manner supping on bread and Cheese as usuall.

Sunday, 23d. This morning I drank some purle for breackfast and then I took a walk in the forenoon through severall streets, and at 1 pm I returned to the eating house I hade formerly been at and dinned which cost me 6½ today having hade 1d. worth of pudding more than I formerly hade. In the afternoon I went to a Methodists meeting. the Text was in the V Chap: Mathew and the 20th Verse. After sermon I came home and being solitary in my room I made the following Verses which I insert on the other side of this leaf.

Now at London in a garret room I am,
here frendless and forsaken;
But from the Lord my help will come,
Who trusts in him are not mistaken.

When freinds on earth do faint and faile,
And upon you their backs do turn;
O Truly seek the Lord, and he will
Them comfort that do murn.

I'll unto God my prayer make,
to him my case make known;
And hopes he will for Jesus sake,
Provide for me and soon.

Munday, 24th. This morning I wrote six tickets to give to shipmasters at Change seeking a steward's birth onb^d^ some ship, but could not get a birth. I also wrote a petition in generall to any Merch^t^ or Tradesman setting forth my present situation, and the way in which I hade been brought up and where I hade served and in what station, at same time offering to serve any for the bare suport of life fore some time. But all to no effect, for all places here at present are intierly carried by

[1] Somerset House. Not the building now so called, but its predecessor, the old mansion of the Protector Somerset.

[2] Covent Garden.

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freinds and Intrest, And many Hundreds are sterving for want of employment, and many good people are begging.

Tuesday, 25th. Having heard last night that John Ross sloop was come from Zetland, I took a Boat this morning and went onboard her and seed him and Robert Irvine. And then I hade the happiness to hear that my wife and Childrein were all well on the 3^{d} Inst it being the day they left Bressaysound.[1] The rest of this day I was employed in presenting the Petition I hade drawn up on the 24th Ins^{t} to severall Merch^{ts} and others and doing all I cou'd to get into business of some kind near home but all to no effect.

Wednesday, 26th. This day I being reduced to the last shilling I hade was obliged to engage to go to Virginia for four years as a schoolmaster for Bedd, Board, washing and five pound during the whole time. I have also wrote my wife this day a particular Acco^{t} of every thing that has happned to me since I left her untill this date; At 3 pm this day I went on board the Snow Planter Cap^{t} Bowers Com^{r} for Virginia now lying at Ratliff Cross, and imediatly as I came Onb^{d} I rec^{d} my Hammock and Bedding. at 4 pm came Alex^{r} Steuart onb^{d} the same Ship. he was Simbisters Serv^{t}.[2] and had only left Zetland about three weeks before me. we were a good deall surprised to meet w^{t} on another in this place.

Thursday, 27th. This day ranie weather. the ships crew imployed in rigging the ship under the Direction of the mate and I was imployed in getting my Hammock slung. at 2 pm came onb^{d} Alex^{r} Burnet nephew to Mr. Francis Farquharson writter in Edinburgh and one Samuel Mitchell a Cooper from Yorkshire and both entred into the berth and Mace[3] with Stewart and me.

Saturday, 29th. This day came on b^{d} Alex^{r} Kennedy a young man from Edinb^{r} who hade been a Master Cooper there and a Glasgow Man by trade a Barber both which we took into our Mace, which compleated it being five Scotsmen and one Yorkshireman, and was always called the Scots mace, And the Cap^{t} told me he was from the Toun of Aberbothick in Scotland, but th^{t} he [had] not been there since he was fifteen years of age but hade been always in the Virginia trade which I was verry glad to hear.

Munday, 31st. This day I went ashore and bought a penknife, a paper Book, and some paper and pens and came on board to Dinner. It is surprising to see the N^{o} of good tradesmen[4] of all kinds, th^{t} come onb^{d} every day.

Freiday, February 4th. This day at 7 AM unmoored from Ratliff-cross and fell down the river with the tide there being no wind. This day I seed Deptfoord, Greenage[5] Hospitall, Blackwall and Ullage.[6] at 1

[1] The harbor of Lerwick.

[2] *I. e.*, a servant of John Bruce Stewart of Symbister and Bigton, an important proprietor in the south of Shetland. *Diary of Rev. James Mill*, pp. 22, 151, etc.

[3] Mess.

[4] *I. e.*, artisans.

[5] Greenwich.

[6] Woolwich.

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pm came to an Anchor a little below the ½ way house. At 6 pm got under way again and fell down untill quite dark and then came to an Anchor a little above Pourfleet.

Sunday, 6th. At 7 AM got under way with a fair wind and clear w^r and at 11 AM came to an anchor off Gravesend and immediatly the Merch^t came onboard and a Doctor and clerk with him and while the Clerk was filling up the Indentures the doctor search'd every serv^t to see that they were sound when . . . seventy five were Intend[1] to Cap^t Bowres for four Years.

Munday, 7th. This forenoon imployed in getting in provisions and water. at 4 pm put a servant ashore extreamly bade in a fever, and then got under saile for Virginia with seventy Servants on board all indented to serve four years there at their differint Occoupations myself being one of the Number and Indented for a Clerk and Bookeeper, But when I arrived there I cou'd get no such birth as will appear in the place.[2] At pm we came to an anchor at the nore it blowing and snowing verry hard.

Tuesday, 8th. At 5 AM made saile from the Nore with the wind at W. N. W. Clear weather and blowing hard. at 2 pm got off a Pillot from Deall to take our River Pillot ashore for which Boat Cap^t Bowers paid one and a half Guineas, and after buying some Gin here we stood streight to sea Under Close R. T. sails[3] and our fore saile, a verry high sea running all this day.

Sunday, 13th. Wind at V. B. S.[4] squally weather. Eight saile more at anchor in Company w^t us. At noon the Indented servants was like to mutiny against the Cap^t for putting them to Allowance of bread and Mate, but it was soon quelled, Our mace not joyning with the rest. in the afternoon he went ashore, But before he left the Ship he called me and begged I wou'd stand by the Mate if there arose any disturbance among the rest of the servants.

Saturday, 26th. Wind at N. B. E. fine moderate weather. got up Yd^s and Topmasts. at 10 AM The Cap^t went ashore to get more fresh provisions, at 4 pm he came onb^d from Portsmouth with Bread, Beiff Pork and Water and then imediatly got under sail and stood out to sea. At this time we hade three men sick onb^d one with the flux, one with the fever and Ego,[5] and one frost bitt in his feet. At 11 pm the wind came all round to the N. V. Blowing verry hard. at Midnight close reefd the topsails.

Sunday, 27th. Wind at N. V. at 4 AM Tack'd ship. At same time the man who was bade with the flux was found dead in his hammock. at 8 he was sewed up in it and at 9 AM he was burried in the sea after reading the service of the Dead over him, which was done by the Mate.

[1] Indented.

[2] This and the entry of May 25, *post*, show that the entries down to the latter date are not in the absolute sense contemporary; but a passage in a letter, under August 7, 1774, seems to indicate that daily notes were taken.

[3] *I. e.*, close-reefed top-sails.

[4] *I. e.*, west by south.

[5] Ague.

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Freiday, March 11th. Wind weather and course as yesterday. this forenoon clear but verry squally like. at 4 pm stowed the Maintopsail and at 7 pm stowed fore Top saile and close reefd the Main saile and scuded under it. The wind blowing excessive hard and a verry high sea running still from the westward. at 8 pm was oblidged to batten down both fore and main hatches, and a little after I really think there was the odest shene[1] betwixt decks that ever I heard or seed. There was some sleeping, some spewing, . . . some daming, some Blasting their leggs and thighs, some their liver, lungs, lights and eyes, And for to make the shene the odder, some curs'd Father, Mother, Sister, and Brother.

Saturday, 12th. Wind weather and course as before. we are now past the skirts of the Bay of Biscay and entred into the Atlantick Ocean, going at the rate of 8 knots per houre.

Sunday, 13th. Wind at S. S. E. course V. B. S. at 11 AM Moderate weather. let out all reefs. at noon in Latitude 44 North per observation. This afternoon got most of sick and ailing to deck the number of which I cannot really now ascertain. But I thank God I have as yet kept my health weel. At 3 pm there was two servants put in Irons for wanting other than what was served. But they were soon released on their asking pardon and promising to behave better.

Sunday, 27th. Wind, weather, and course as yesterday. at 8 AM got up all hammocks and the sick likways they being now in number about 37, there being th[ree] sick in our mace Viz^{t} Stewart, Burnet, and the Yorkshire Cooper. at noon we all betwixt decks cleand out, and washed with wineggar.

Thursday, 31st. Wind weather and course as before. The sick are now increased to the number of fifty betwixt decks, besides three in the steerage Viz^{t} two seamen and a passanger.

Sunday, April 3d. Wind weather and course as before. Last night Alex^{r} Stewart was so high in the fever that I sat up with him all night, and Burnet and the Cooper are still verry bad, but not so high as Stewart. This day the Cap^{t} ordered some Cock and hen to be killed and fresh broth made for the sick.

Munday, 4th. Wind weather and course still as before and jogging on from 4 to 6 knots at an average per houre. at 5 pm I was oblidged to get Stewart blister'd and sat up again all night with him, having become his nurse for Country sake he being the first in the Mace that was taken ill, and I was not sure how soon it might be my own fate. But thank God I am as yet well and hearty. This night I supped on a dish called Scratchplatters. it is made of biscuits broack small and soacked in water until they are soft, and then Winegar, oile, salt, and Onions cut small put to it, and supped with spoons.

Wednesday, 6th. . . . I have wore no Britches nor stockins since we got into the trade winds[2] only a pair of long trousers down to my buckles. And this day having put on a shorter pair untill my longest

[1] Scene.

[2] Lat. this day 27° 37′ N. On the tenth they were near Barbadoes.

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pair was wash'd, I got both my Ancles burned by the sun, it is so verry hot here.

Tuesday, 19th. . . . This day I brought up Mr. Jones[1] Journall for five days back, also Capt. Bowers Journall for four days back and at same time begged me to mark the Logg Book and ordred that Whoever hade the charge of watch to aquant me what the ship went per Logg &c.

Thursday, 21st. This morning a young lad, one of the servts being verry ill with the Fever and Ague, he begged me to apply to Mr. Jones the Cheif Mate, and told me he cou'd give him something that would cure him; Mr. Jones first desired me to give him a Womite and then wrote the following lines on a slip of paper and after folding it up gave it to me, to see it tyed up in the corner of his handkirchif or Cravat and wear it at his breast next his skin with strick charge not to look at it himself nor let any other person see it or look at it untill he was got wel. The words are as follows.

When Jesus saw the Cross he trembled,
The Jews said unto him why tremblest thou,
You have neither got an Ague nor a fever.
Jesus Answered and said unto them
I have neither got an Ague nor a fever
But whosoever keepeth my words
Shall neither have an Ague nor a fever.

Mr. Jones told me when he gave me the above copy it [was] a sertain cure for the fever and Ague, the paitient being first womited and then wearing the lines as above directed, But if they show it to any or look at it themselves it will have no effect.

Freiday, 22d. This day I was seased with a sever Cold and Aching in my bones, But I thank God I am weel car'd for and has every thing sent me from the Cabin I can desire.

Wednesday, 27th. This morning I am fairly got the better of my cold and the Aching in my bones and am able to stir about. . . . At 7 pm we made Cape Henry and the Coast plain. we then highesed our flagg for a Pillot Boat and at pm we hade four Pillot boats along side and Capt. Bowrs took one Mr. Cooper who brought us within the Capes, and to an Anchor at 10 pm where we lay all night.

Thursday, 28th. At 7 AM the Pillot wegh'd Anchor and wrought the ship up to Hampton Roads where we came to an Anchor at 10 AM. This morning I was employ'd in Making out a Clean list of the servants names and Business and age, and how soon I was done[2] Capt. Bowers went ashore in the Pillot boat to Hamton on Elizabeth river. we have some goods to put out before we leave this place. at night, a deal of Thunder, lightning and rain.

Monday, May 2d. Wind as before, fine fair warm weather. got out the rest of the goods that was for Hampton. at 2 pm the Capt. Carried

[1] James Jones, chief mate, then sick. [2] *I. e.*, as soon as I was done.

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five servᵗˢ ashore to Hampton in order to sell their Indentures, But returned again at Midnight with [out] selling any more but one Boat Builder. he brought onbᵈ with him four Barrells Virginia Pork and one Puncheon Dº rum, and 3 live hogs.

Tuesday, 3d. Wind at W. N. W. fine moderate weather. at 6 AM weigh'd Anchor from Hampton Roads, and stood out to sea untill we made the Entry of Rappahannock river, which we did at 10 AM, proceeding up the same for Fredericksburgh. at 6 pm came to an anchor at Arrabanna.[1]

Freiday, 6th. Wind as before. at 4 AM got under saile and stood up the river and at 9 AM passed by the Town of Hobshole[2] and let it on our Larboard hand as we did the Town of Arrabanna. at Hobshole there was five Glasgow ships and an English Brigantine lying. at 2 pm we passed by Leedstown[3] on our Starboard hand where there was a ship from London lying with Convicts. at night came to anchor about 6 Miles above Leedstown.

Saturday, 7th. This morning thick weather. at 10 AM got under way and stood up to Port Royall on our Larboard hand where we arrived at 2 pm, The Capᵗ going ashore to change his Pillot, and at 4 pm returned with Another and we imediatly got under way again and got about 7 miles above Port Royall before dark. all along both sides of the River there is nothing to be seen but woods in the blossom, Gentlemens seats and Planters houses.

Sunday, 8th. Early this morning died the old German, a man between 60 and 70 years of age. at 5 AM weigh'd Anchor and tow'd and warped up, it being quite calm. at 9 AM was obliged to come to an Anchor, and ly untill the tide made, and then weigh'd and got about 3 Miles above Port Morton where we lay all night. this forenoon we lost one of our live hogs, he Jumping overboard and swiming ashore and imediatly got into the woods. at night the Capᵗ carried the old German ashore and Burried him somewhere in the woods.

Tuesday, 10th. At 2 AM weigh'd and stood up with the tide, came to an anchor at 6 AM and lay untill Do. 8 when we weigh'd with a fair wind and got to our Moorings at 6 pm at the Toun of Fredericksburgh.

Wednesday, 11th. At 10 AM Both Coopers and the Barber from our Mace went ashore upon tryall. At night one Daniel Turner a servᵗ returned onbᵈ from Liberty so drunk that he abused the Capᵗ and chief Mate and Boatswan to a verry high degree, which made to be horse whipᵗ put in Irons and thumb screwed. on houre afterward he was unthumbscrewed, taken out of the Irons, but then he was hand cuffed, and gagged all night.

Thursday, 12th. All hands quite on board this day. Turner ungagged But continoued in handcuffs.

[1] Urbanna, in Middlesex County.

[2] Hobb's Hole, in Richmond County. See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, V. 313, 314, Journal of Philip Fithian, August 2 of this same year.

[3] Leeds, in Westmoreland.

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Freiday, 13th. This forenoon put ashore here what bale goods we hade remaining onboard. in the afternoon Mr. Burnet, Stewart and myself went ashore on liberty to take a walk and see the Toun, who's principal street is about half an English Mile long, the houses generally at a little distance one from another, some of them being built of wood and some of them of brick, and all covered with wood in the form of sclates about four Inches broad, which when painted blue you wou'd not know it from a house sclated with Isedell sclate.[1] In this Toun the Church,[2] the Counsell house, the Tolbooth the Gallows and the Pillory are all within 130 yd^{s} of each other. The Market house is a large brick Building a litle way from the Church. here we drank some Bottles of beer of their own brewing and some bottles of Cyder for which we paid 3½ per bottle of each. returned on board in the evening. Turner still in handcuffs.

Munday, 16th. This day severalls came onb^{d} to purchase serv^{ts} Indentures and among them there was two Soul drivers. they are men who make it their business to go onb^{d} all ships who have in either Servants or Convicts and buy sometimes the whole and sometimes a parcell of them as they can agree, and then they drive them through the Country like a parcell of Sheep untill they can sell them to advantage, but all went away without buying any.

Tuesday, 17th. This day M^{r} Anderson the Merch^{t} sent for me into the [cabin] and verry genteely told me that on my recomendations he would do his outmost to get me settled as a Clerk or bookeeper if not as a schoolmaster which last he told me he thought wou'd turn out more to my advantage upon being setled in a good famely.

The ships crew and servants employed in getting ashore all the cask out of the hould, no sales th^{s} day.

Wednesday, 18th. This day the ships crew and servants imployed in getting out the ballast and unrigging the ship. One Cooper, one Blacksmith and one Shoemaker were settled with Masters this day.

Thursday, 19th. One Farmer's time sold and one Cabinet Maker on tryall.

Saturday, 21st. This day one M^{r} Cowly a man 'twixt fifty and sixty years of age, a serv^{t}, also three sons of his their ages from eight to fourteen were all settled with one McDonald a Scotchman.

Munday, 23d. This morning a great number of Gentlemen and Ladies driving into Town it being an annuall Fair[3] day and tomorrow the day of the Horse races. at 11 AM M^{r} Anderson begged to settle as a schoolmaster with a friend of his one Colonel Daingerfield[4] and told

[1] Easdale or Eisdale, a small island among the Hebrides, entirely composed of slate, and at this time famous for its quarries.

[2] Of the parish of St. George.

[3] A law of 1738 (Hening, V. 82), ordered that fairs should be held at Fredericksburg twice a year for the sale of "cattle, victuals, provisions, goods, wares and merchandizes." The law, continued from time to time, had last been renewed in 1769.

[4] Col. William Daingerfield of Belvidera was the son of Edwin Daingerfield and Mary Bassett, daughter of Col. William Bassett of Eltham. The Bassetts were near of

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me he was to be in Town tomorrow, or perhaps tonight, and how soon he came[1] he shou'd aquant me. at same time all the rest of the servants were ordred ashore to a tent at Fredericksb^g^ and severall of their Indentures were then sold. about 4 pm I was brought to Colonel Daingerfield, 'when we imediatly agreed and my Indenture for four years was then delivered him and he was to send for me the next day. at same time ordred to get all my dirty Cloaths of every kind washed at his expense in Toun; at night he sent me five shillings onb^d^ by Cap^t^ Bowers to keep my pocket.

Tuesday, 24th. This morning I left the Ship at 6 AM having been sixteen weeks and six days on board her. I hade for Breackfast after I came ashore one Chappin[2] sweet milk for which I paid 3½ Cur^y^. at 11 AM went to see a horse race about a mille from Toun, where there was a number of Genteel Company as well as others. here I met with the Colonel again and after some talk with him he gave me cash to pay for washing all my Cloaths and something over. The reace was gain'd by a Bay Mare, a white boy ridder. There was a gray Mare started with the Bay a black boy ridder but was far distant the last heat.[3]

Wednesday, 25th. I Lodged in a Tavern last night and paid 7½ for my Bedd and 7½ for my breackfast. this morning a verry heavy rain untill 11 AM. Then I rec^d^ my Linens &c. all clean washed and packing every thing up I went onboard the ship and Bought this Book for which I paid 18d. St^r^. I also bought a small Divinity book called the Christian Monitor and a spelling book, both at 7½ and an Arithmetick at 1/6d. all for my Acco^t^.

Thursday, 26th. This day at noon the Colonel sent a Black with a cuple of Horses for me and soon after I set out on Horseback and aravied at his seat of Belvidera about 3 pm and after I hade dined the Colonel took me to a neat little house at the upper end of an Avenue of planting at 500 yd^s^ from the Main house, where I was to keep the school, and Lodge myself in it.

This place is verry pleasantly situated on the Banks of the River Rappahannock about seven miles below the Toun of Fredericksburgh and the school's right above the Warff so that I can stand in the door and pitch a stone onboard of any ship or Boat going up or coming doun the river.

Freiday, 27th. This morning about 8 AM the Colonel delivered his three sons to my Charge to teach them to read write and figure. his oldest son Edwin 10 years of age, intred into two syllables in the spelling book, Bathourest [Bathurst] his second son six years of age in the Alphabete and William his third son 4 years of age does not know the letters.

kin to Martha Washington. Col. Daingerfield's grandfather was William Daingerfield, who married Elizabeth Bathurst, daughter of Lancelot Bathurst of Virginia, fifth son of Sir Edward Bathurst of Sussex, England.

[1] *I. e.*, as soon as he came.

[2] A Scottish measure, about equivalent to an American quart.

[3] The Fredericksburg races were by this time a long-established institution. See Mr. W. G. Stanard's notes on Virginia horse-racing in the *Virginia Magazine*, II. 293–305.

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he has likeways a Daughter whose name is Hanna Basset Years of age. Soon after we were all sent for to breackfast to which we hade tea, Bread, Butter and cold meat and there was at table the Colonel, his Lady, his Children, the housekeeper and myself. At 11 AM the Colonel and his Lady went some where to pay a visite, he upon horseback and she in her Charriot. At 2 pm I dined with the Housekeeper the Children and a stranger Lady. at 6 pm I left school, and then I eat plenty of fine strawberries, but they neither drink Tea in the afternoon nor eat any supper here for the most part. My school Houres is from 6 to 8 in the morning, in the forenoon from 9 to 12 and from 3 to 6 in the afternoon.

Sunday, 29th. There is no church nearer Belvidera than Fredericksburgh, and for want of a sadle I was oblidged to stay at home all day and when I was alone in the school I thought on the following verses.

1st.

In Virginia now I am, at Belvidera settled,
but may they ever mercy find, who hade the cause
that I am from my sweet wife seperated
And Oblidged to leave my Infant Children Fatherless.

2d.

As a schoolmaster, I am here ;
And must for four years, remain so ;
May I indeavour the Lord to fear,
And always his commands do.

3d.

For in Gods strength I do rely,
that he at his appointed time,
Will bring me back my family,
if I his precepts do but mind.

4th.

O May my God provide for them,
Who unto me are near and dear ;
tho they afar off me are from
O Jesus keep them in thy fear.

5th.

Do thou enable me to labour,
and my fortune do thou mind ;
that what I get by thy favour,
I to my family may send.

6th.

O Lord my God do thou them save
from dangers and from death
And may they food and rayment have
and for the same may thankfull be while they have breath.

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7th

And may we all ever gloryfie thy name
and loud thy praises sing
and unto all make known the fame
of Jehova our almighty king.

8th

O ever blessed be the Lord,
the King of all the earth is he,
let us exalt his name with one Accord
and thankfull unto him be ye. Finis.

After dinner I took a walk about a Miles distance from the house along the highway, and by the road side seed a Corn Mill and another pretty house called Snow Creek belonging to the Colonel.

Tuesday, 31st. This day there was about fifty white Ewes and Lambs feeding 'twix the main house and the school door and so tame that they wou'd come and look in at the door and see what we was doing. the lambs here are as large at this date as in Zetland at Michelsmass, being of the english bread.

Wednesday, June 1st. This day there was prayers in all the Churches in Virginia[1] on Acco[t] of the disagreement at present betwixt great Brittain and her Colonies in North America, On Acco[t] of their not agreeing to pay a duty on Tea laid on them by the british parliment and the Bostonians destroying a Quantity of Tea belonging to the British East India Comp[y] in 1773.

Freiday, 3d. This day I eat green pease at dinner, this being the last of them this season here.

Wednesday, 8th. This day I eat plenty of fine ripe Cherries brought out of the woods this morning by the Colonel.

Freiday, 10th. Rec[d] two pair fine new brown thread stockins. Below is an Inventory of the Cloaths &c I brought to Belvidera with me Viz.

One Superfine Brown Cloath Coat full mounted.
One D° vest Coat.
One floored[2] silk D°
One fine marsyled[3] D°
One Brown Duffel D°
One pair new black Stockins Britches
One pair new Doe skin D°
One pair flannen Drawers.
One pair Osenburgh[4] D°

[1] The fast-day decreed by the Virginia House of Burgesses. See Jefferson's autobiography.

[2] Flowered.

[3] Marseilles.

[4] Osnaburg.

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Six Ruffled Shirts
five plain white D°
One Cheque D°
One Blue Cloath Jacket
Seven Musline Stocks
One Black silk Cravate
One pair Ribbed Cotton Stockins
Ten pair worsted D°
One new Hat and one D° Wigg.
Five pocket Napkins.
two hand Towels
two pair Trousers

} Severall other Articles besides what are here mentioned but are too tedeous to mention.

One pair Shoes; with Pinchback shoe, stock and knee buckles.

One trunk, with fine lock and hinges.

Saturday, 11th. At 9 AM left the school and went a fishing on the River with the Colonel his eldest [Son] and another Gentleman in two Canoes, Mrs. Dangerfield another Lady and the other two boys mett us at Snow Creek in the Chair at 2 pm when we all dined on fish under a tree.

Sunday, 12th. This day at Church at Fredericksburgh and at same time settled a Correspondance at Glasgow for getting letters from home, by their being put under cover to Messrs. Anderson and Horsburgh Merch^ts^ in D° and the expence charged to Mr. Glassel[1] Merch^t^ in Fredericksb^g^ Virginia.

Tuesday, 14th. This morning entred to school William Pattie son to John Pattie wright, and Salley Evens daughter to Thomas Evens Planter. This day I wrote my wife a particular Acco^t^ of all my transactions since I wrote her from London 26^th^ Jan^y^ last, the Coppy of which I have by me.[2]

Thursday, 16th. This eveng the Colonel told me he hade about 400 Acres of land in wheat and as much in Indian Corn every year and that he comonly exported about 3600 bushels of wheat every year besides serving his own Family. But that he did not expect to have above the one half th^s^ year owing to a strong frost they had in Aprile last.

Freiday, 17th. This day rec^d^ two pair new Rushia drill britches and two new short Coats of Brown Holland.

Munday, 20th. This morning entred to school Philip and Dorothea Edge's Children of M^r^ Benjaman Edge Planter. Same day Colonel Dangerfield began to cut down his wheat, which they do with a syth.

Tuesday, 21st. This day M^r^ Samuel Edge Planter came to me and begged me to take a son of his to school who was both deaf and dum, and I consented to try what I cou'd do with him.

[1] John Glassell was a Scotsman who came to Fredericksburgh and became a prominent merchant there. A wharf there is still known as Glassell's. He returned to Scotland at the beginning of the Revolutionary War. His only daughter, whose marriage-portion was fifty thousand pounds sterling, married in 1820 Lord John Campbell, afterward the seventh duke of Argyll; and was the mother of the late duke.

[2] See its text under August 7, *post.*

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Thursday, 23d. This day entred to school John Edge son to the above named Mr. Sam: Edge. he is a lad about 14 years of age and is both deaf and dum.[1]

Saturday, 25th. This afternoon I went and took a walk in the wheat field and under a tree I filled all my pockets of as fine walnuts as ever I eat, But so hard shell that I was oblidged to have a hammer to breack them.

Sunday, 26th. After Breackfast I took a walk 3 Miles to Mr. Edge's, the dum lad's fathers where I dined and drank some grogg and returned home in the afternoon. at night I had a small Congregation of Negroes, learng their Catechisim and hearing me read to them.

Sunday, July 3d. At home all the forenoon, in the afternoon went to see One Mr. Richards an Overseer and his wife where I eat plenty of honney out of the Comb, it being taken out of a Beehive in a tree in the woods last night.

Freiday, 8th. After school houres I went two Miles to see the Taylor who made my Cloaths he being a Brittoner but married to a Buckskine,[2] and I found his wife and Daughters drinking tea, at which I joyned them, The Taylor not being at home.

Tuesday, 12th. Sold the spelling book that I bought Onbd. the Planter 25th May last, and got the same money for it that I paid for the Christian Monitor and it.

Saturday, 16th. This afternoon the Colonel finished the cutting down of His wheat which cost of wages to hired people £23 : 10 Curry besides their victualls and drink.

Munday, 18th. This morning entred to School Lewis Richards. Same day I put on a pair of new shoes made in Fredericksburgh of English calf leather the price of them 12/6 Curry. Same day gave one pair of old worsted stockins for 22 foot of Gum plank 10 Inch broad and one thick to make me a Chest.

Tuesday, 19th. On Freiday 15th Inst. John Edge the Dumb lad left the school at 6 pm and has not returned since.

Wednesday, 20th. On Munday 4th Inst at 6 pm William Pattie left the school and has not returned since.

Munday, 25th. Nothing remarkable. Jno. Edge returnd. to school.

Sunday, August 7th. This afternoon meeting accidentaly with a Gentleman here who was on his way to London I wrote my wife a few lines by him having wrote her fully 14th June last but having omitted to

[1] Nothing in the diary surpasses in interest the entries relating to John Edge. He was, in fact, so far as is known, the first deaf mute instructed in America. No instance so early occurs in Dr. Alexander Graham Bell's "Historical Notes concerning the Teaching of Speech to the Deaf," in the *Association Review* for February, 1900, and subsequent numbers. John Bolling of Cobbs, Virginia, the first American deaf mute to receive an education, was sent to John Braidwood's school in Edinburgh in 1771, and did not return till 1783. What methods Harrower used, we can only guess. It is highly improbable that he knew those of Braidwood, who carefully kept them secret; and Cobbs was far away. For subsequent details of Harrower's experiment, see the entries of July 19 and 25, 1774, March 18 and May 20, 1775, but especially the letter of December 6, 1774.

[2] *I. e.*, American.

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insert the Coppy in it's proper place I now do it here before I insert the coppy of my second Letter to her from this country.

BELVIDERA 14th June 1774.

My Dearest Life

I wrote you from London on Wednesday 26th Jany last which Im hopefull came safe to hand, and found you and my dear Infants in perfect health, and am hopefull this will find both you and them in the same state, As I am at present and have been I bless God since I left you. You will remember when I wrote you last, I informed you that I was to go for Baltimore in Maryland, But I altred my design in that and came here it being a more healthy pleace. I sailed from London on Freiday the 4th Feby last, and arrived in Hampton roads in Virginia on the 27 April, having been a Month of the time at Spithead in England. As to particulars of our Voyage &ca it would take up too much room here to insert it. But I have a Journal of every days transactions and remarcable Occurances since the morning I left you which will be amusing to you when please God we are spared to meet, for I design to see and prepare a way for you all in this Country how soon I am able.—I shall now aquant you wt my situation in this Country. I am now settled with on Colonel Wm Dangerfield Esqr of Belvidera, on the Banks of the River Rappahannock about 160 miles from the Capes or sea mouth, and seven Miles below the Toun of Fredericksburgh. My business is to teach his Children to read write and figure, Edwin his oldest son about 8 years of [age] Bathurest his second 6 years of age and William his youngest son 4 years of age. he has also a Daughter whose name is Hanna Basset. I came to this place on Thursday 26th May and next morning I received his three sons into my charge to teach, the two youngest boys I got in A : B : C. and the oldest Just begun to syllab and I have now the two youngest spelling and the oldest reading. I am obliged to teach in the English method which was a little aquard to me at first but now quite easy. I am also obliged to talk english the best I can,[1] for Lady Dangerfield speacks nothing but high english, and the Colonel hade his Education in England and is a verry smart Man. As to my agreement it is as follows Vizt I am obliged to continue with Colo Dangerfield for four years if he insists on it, and for teaching his own children I have Bed, Board, washing and all kind of Cloaths during the above time, and for what schoolars I can get more than his Children I have five shillings currency per Quarter for each of them, which is equall to four shillings sterling, and I expect ten or twelve to school next week, for after I hade been here eight days and my abilities and my behavior sufficiently tried, the Colonel rode through the neighbouring Gentlemen and Planters in order to procure scollars for me, so that I hope in a short time to make something of it. And as I have no Occasion to spend a farthing on myself every shillg I make shall be carefully remitted you, for your support and my Dear Infants. But I

[1] The Norse language was not quite extinct in Shetland in 1774, according to Low, *Tour through the Islands of Orkney and Shetland*, and the ordinary speech of the islanders was a dialect much mixed with Norse words and forms.

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must be some time here before any thing can be done, for you know every thing must have a beginning.

As to my living I eat at their own table, and our witualls are all Dressed in the English taste. we have for Breackfast either Coffie or Jaculate,[1] and warm Loaf bread of the best floor, we have also at table warm loaf bread of Indian corn, which is extreamly good but we use the floor bread always at breackfast. for Dinner smoack'd bacon or what we cal pork ham is a standing dish either warm or cold. when warm we have greens with it, and when cold we have sparrow grass. we have also either warm roast pigg, Lamb, Ducks, or chickens, green pease or any thing else they fancy. As for Tea there is none drunk by any in this Government since 1st June last, nor will they buy a 2^{ds} worth of any kind of east India goods, which is owing to the difference at present betwixt the Parliment of great Britton and the North Americans about laying a tax on the tea; and I'm afraid if the Parliment do not give it over it will cause a total revolt as all the North Americans are determined to stand by one another, and resolute on it that they will not submit. I have the news paper sent me to school regularly every week by the Col^{l}. —Our family consists of the Col^{l}. his Lady and four Children a housekeeper an Overseer and myself all white. But how many blacks young and old the Lord only knows for I belive there is about thirty that works every day in the field besides the servants about the house; such as Gardner, livery men and pages, Cooks, washer and dresser, sewster and waiting girle. They wash here the whitest that ever I seed for they first Boyle all the Cloaths with soap, and then wash them, and I may put on clean linen every day if I please. My school is a neate litle House 20 foot long and 12 foot wide and it stands by itself at the end of an Avenue of planting about as far from the main house as Rob^{t} Forbes's[2] is from the burn, and there comes a bonny black bairn every morning to clean it out and make my bed, for I sleep in it by myself. I have a verry fine feather bed under me, and a pair of sheets, a thin fold of a Blanket and a Cotton bed spread is all my bed cloaths, and I find them just enough. as for myself I supose you wou'd scarce know me now, there being nothing either brown, blew, or black about me but the head and feet, I being Dressed in short cloath Coat, vest Coat, and britches all made of white cotton without any lyning and thread stockins and wearing my own hair curled round like a wigg. at present a suite of Cloaths costs five and twenty shillings here of making which I really think verry high.

I was Sunday last at Fredericksburgh at church and I then settled a safe Correspondance for your letters to come to me, and shall give you

[1] Chocolate.

[2] In the "Annals of the County of Zetland", referred to in the introductory lines, *supra*, this entry is to be found, under date of 1767: "Compeared Robert Forbes and James Forbes, both Operative Masons in Lerwick, Who undertook to furnish and work all the Free Stone necessary in the foresaid Intended Tolbooth," etc. Passages in the letters of December 6, 1774, August 28 and September 8, 1775, which see, *post*, serve to identify the former of these two brothers with Harrower's former friend.

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the proper directions below. As for myself I thank God I want for nothing that is necessary, But it brings tears from my eyes to think of you and my infants when at the same time it is not in my power at present to help you. But how soon I am able you may depend upon it. I have litle else to say at present; only may the great God who governs all things wisely suport you and my Infants, and guide and direct you in all your ways.

I shall write you again soon and when you write me direct my letters as follows Viz.t to John Harrower at the seat of Colonel W.m Dangerfield Esq.r of Belvidera near Fredericksburgh on Rappahannock River Virginia; Then you must take half a sheet of paper and write another letter the contents of which may be as follows Viz.t Gentlemen, being desired by my husband to send his letters under cover to you, You will please forward the inclosed by the first ship bound for any part in Virginia and charge M.r Glassel Merch.t in Fredericksburgh with the expence you are at; I am yours &.ca Signed A. H. After you have closed my letter and directed it as above, You will inclose it in the above, and direct it as follows To Mess.rs Anderson and Horsburgh Merch.ts in Glasgow. You must get some person to fold up your letters properly and on who writes a clear Distinct hand to direct them. Pray write me verry particularly how it is with you and my D.r Infants, likeways any thing that is remarcable in the Country. I shall conclude this with offering my Comp.ts to all enquiring freinds if I have any and my sinceer prayers both evening and morn.g for you and my Children. My Blessing to you all, is all at present from my Dearest Jewell your ever aff.te Husband untill Death. Signed, John Harrower.

Addressed, To Mrs. John Harrower in Lerwick, Zetland.

2.d Letter from Virginia.

BELVIDERA 7 Aug.t 1774.

My Dearest Life

I wrote you verry fully 14.th June last to which I refer you it being verry full, but meeting Accidentally Just now with a Gentleman bound to London, I have just time to write you a few lines while he is at Dinner to let you know that I am still in good health I thank God for it, and am hopefull this will find you and my D.r Infants the same. I gave you verry full Directions in my last how to write me but in case this should come to hand before it, I shall here again repeat them.—See Directions page 63.[1]—If this or my other letter comes to hand before the Pacquet leaves Zetland for the last time this winter[2] pray do not faill to write

[1] A reference to the preceding page of the manuscript book.

[2] The compiler of the eighth edition of *A Tour through the Island of Great Britain*, London, 1778, says, IV. 324, that the Shetlanders are deprived "of all foreign correspondence from October to April, during which time they hear nothing of what passes in other parts of the world. A known instance of this was, that though the Revolution [of 1688] happened to begin in November, they knew nothing of it till the May following." This is taken from Brand's *Brief Description of Orkney and Zetland*, 1701, (Pinkerton, III. 773) but was doubtless practically true seventy years later; for it will be observed, under date of May 27, 1775, *infra*, that Harrower's first letter from his wife, in answer to his letter of June 14, 1774, is dated March 1, 1775.

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me verry fully by her. I have Just time to aquant you that I am settled here as a Schoolmaster and can really say with great truth that I never lived a genteel regulare life untill now. I shall write you again soon verry fully and untill then I am with my blessing to you my Dear and my Dear Infants Your ever Aff^te^ husb^d^ untill death — Signed — John Harrower.

Adressed, To Mrs. John Harrower, Lerwick, Zetland.

Tuesday, August 16th. Expecting a visit of one M^r^ Kennedy an Edinburgher, a Cooper now in Fredericksburgh, I this day sent to Toun for a Quart of the Best Vestindia Rum which cost me Eighteen pence Virginia Currancy.

Wednesday, 17th. This evening entred to school Thomas Brooks M^r^ Spotswoods[1] carpenter in order to learn Writing and Arithmetick at nights and on Sundays.[2]

Freiday, 19th. This day at noon Col^l^ Will^m^ Daingerfield finished his wheat harvest by getting the last of it brought home and stacked.

Sunday, 21st. At home teaching Brooks. Nothing remarcable.

Munday, 22d. This afternoon Col^l^ Daingerfield begun to sow wheat again for the next years crope. They sow their wheat here in the field where there Indian Corn is growing and plough it into the ground, so that the Corn and wheat both Occopy the ground from this date untill January next and then the Corn is cut down.

Tuesday, 23d. This day at noon was finished at one of Col^l^ Daingerfields Barns a new Machine for beating out of wheat. it is a circle of 60 feet diameter in the center of which their is a paul [pole?] fixed in the ground from which there goes three beams that reach the outer edge of the great circle and betwixt the outer ends of them are fixed four rollers, each roller having 320 spokes in it, they are 6 feet long, viz^t^ the rollers, and goes round upon a floor of 3 Inch plank of 7 feet long from the outer edge of the great circle and round the outer ends of the floor plank there is a thin plank upon it's edge and round the inner edge the same which keeps in the wheat. the Machine is drawn round by 4 Horses and beats out 100 Bushels of wheat every day. It was begun 1^st^ instant.

Sunday, 28th. At home all day teaching Brooks.

Sunday, September 11th. D^o^ teaching Brooks. at 1 pm came M^r^ Kennedy from Fredericksburgh here to see me and after we had dined we ended the Quart of Rum I Bought 16^th^ Last M^o^.

Tuesday, October 4th. Went to Fredericksb^g^ and seed a Horse Race for a Hundred Guineas, Gained by M^r^ Fitchews Horse.[3]

[1] Presumably Alexander Spotswood of Newport, afterward brigadier-general; grandson of the famous governor.

[2] Mill's *Diary* shows, *passim*, how a Shetland minister of that day regarded the "Sabbath"; but it also shows that he could not induce all the islanders to observe it with the same strictness.

[3] Sporting readers, if there are such among the votaries of history, will find the details of these days' races, derived from the pages of the *Virginia Gazette*, in Mr. W. G. Stanard's article already referred to, on Racing in Colonial Virginia, *Virginia Maga-*

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Wednesday, 5th. This day a Horse race at Fredericksburg for Fifty pound, and it was gain'd by a Horse belonging to Col^{l} Tailo.[1]

Thursday, 6th. This day a Horse race at Fredericksburg for Fifty pound, and it was gained by a Horse belonging to M^{r} Fitchew.

Freiday, 7th. The race this day at Fredericksburg for Fifty pound was gained again by another Horse belonging to M^{r} Fitchew.

Saturday, 8th. This day the races at Fredericksburg was finished and this night finishes the Puppet shows, roape dancings &c, which has continowed every night this week in town. I only seed the purse of a Hundred Guineas run for, and that day I hade the Misfortune to have my Horse, saddle and bridle stole from me, while I was doing some business in town. And I never could hear, nor get any intelligence of either of them again.

Sunday, 23d. At church but there was no sermon only prayers. This day I carried home a Westcoat with a silver sprig through a strip'd white satine and Padasoy silk, which I had formerly bought made as it was being nothing worse than new for 8/6 Virginia Currancy, and a Brass Inkholder with a penknife in it bought at 1/6 C^{y}.[2]

Munday, 31st. This morning two Carpenters was put to new weather board my house on the outside with featherage plank, and to new plaster it on the Inside with shell lime.

Tuesday, November 1st. This day Col^{l} William Daingerfield finished sowing his Wheat, having sown in all this year 160½ bushels. This day I eat extream good green Pease they being the second croap this season. In the afternoon they began to gather new corn and bro^{t} home 8 Ba^{lls} at night from 1000 Corn hills.

Sunday, 27th. This day at Church and heard Sermon by Mr. Muree[3] his text was in Hebrews 13th Chap: and 18th verse. Bought a hanging lock for my Chest at 7½ Currancy.

Rec^{d} from Colonel Daingerfield New Coat and veastcoat of Claret couler'd Duffel.

Tuesday, December 6th. Wrote home.—3d Letter from Virginia.

zine, II. 293–305. The first day's race, "Jockey Club Plate," 100 guineas, open to members only, was won by Wm. Fitzhugh's Regulus, beating Alexander Spotswood's Eclipse, Mann Page's Damon, Wm. Brent's Figure, Wm. Fitzhugh's Master Stephen, and Moore Fauntleroy's Faithful Shepherdess. On the second day, a purse of £ 50, 4 mile heats, was won by John Tayloe's Single Peeper. On the third day the "Town Purse," 4 mile heats, was won by Wm. Fitzhugh's Kitty Fisher. On the fourth day the "Town and Country Purse," 4 mile heats, was won by William Fitzhugh's Volunteer. These were the last of the great races at Fredericksburg. The Revolution was impending, and there was a general sentiment to the effect that racing should stop.

[1] Col. John Tayloe of Mt. Airy in Richmond County. See AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, V. 307.

[2] Currency.

[3] Rev. James Marye was rector of St. George's Parish from 1767 to 1780. He was the son of Rev. James Marye, the former rector, a Huguenot refugee.

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BELVIDERA 6th Decr 1774.

My Dearest Life,

Since my aravil here I wrote you 14th June and 7th Augt last to both which I shall partly refer you. I now rite you with a shaking hand and a feeling heart to enqair of your and my Dr Infants welfare, this being the return of the day of the year on which I was obliged to leave you and my Dr Infants early in the morning which day will be ever remembred by me with tears untill it shall please God to grant us all a happy meeting again. I trust in the mercies of a good God this will find you and my Dr Infants in perfect health as I am and have been ever since I came here, for neither the heat in summer nor what I have as yet felt of the cold in winter gives me the least uneasiness I thank God for it. About 20 days ago I only laid aside my summer dress, and put on a suit of new Claret Coulerd Duffle neatly mounted but no lyning in the Coat only faced in the breasts. I wrote you in my first letter, that I was designed Please God to prepare a way for you and my Infants in this Country; And I begg youll give me your thoughts fully upon it, in your first letter after receipt of this with respect to your moving here. If you do your method must be thus; Take your Passage to Leith, from thence go to Glasgow and from that to Greenock where you will ship for this country. But this you are not to attemp untill I have your thoughts upon it and I send you a recomendation to a Mercht in Glasgow and cash to bear your expences. I have as yet only ten scollars One of which is both Deaff and Dumb and his Father pays me ten shilling per Quarter for him he has been now five Mos with [me] and I have brought him tolerably well and understands it so far, that he can write mostly for anything he wants and understands the value of every figure and can work single addition a little. he is about fourteen years of age.[1] Another of them is a young man a house Carpenter who attends me every night with candle light and every Sunday that I don't go to Church for which he pays me fourty shillings a year. He is Carpenter for a gentleman who lives two miles from me and has Thirty pound a year, free bedd and board.

The Colls Children comes on pretty well. the Eldest is now reading verry distinctly in the Psalter according to the Church of England and the other two boys ready to enter into it; the Coll and his Lady being extreamly well satisfied wt my Conduct in every respect; On 31st Jully last Mrs Daingerfield was delivd of a fourth son who is now my nameson. I am now verry impatient to hear from you and I [beg] of you not to slip a Packqut without writting me, Accord to the directions I formerly sent you which I shall again repeat in this for fear of my former letters being miscarried which I hope not; The next time [I] write you I hope to be able to make you a small remittance.

[1] The entries under March 18 and May 20, 1775, seem to indicate that the experiperiment did not proceed beyond the date of this letter.

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I would have at this time wrote your Brother Mr. Craigie,[1] for I truely belive his private good wishes to me was always sinceer, But I want to hear from you first by which I hope to learn how every one's pulse in your place beats towards me and his among the rest, which I hope you'll not fail to take notice of.—I now as far as my sheet of paper will allow me, for your Amusements and information, shall write you some of the news of this Western World, and first with respect to myself. Know that I have not drunk a dish of Tea this six Mos past, nor have I drunk a dram of plain spirits this seven Mos past, nor have I tasted broth or any kind of supping mate for the above time unless three or four times some soup; Notwithstanding I want for nothing that I cou'd desire, and am only affraid of getting fatt, tho we seldom eat here but twice a day. for Breackfast we have always Coffie with plenty of warm loaf bread and fine butter. at 12 oClock when I leave school, I have as much good rum toddie as I chuse to drink, and for Dinner we have plenty of roast and boyld and good strong beer, but seldom eat any supper. There has been a hote War here this last summer betwixt the fronteer Countys of this Collony and the united tribes of the Shawaneses, Delewars, Mingoes and Tawa Indians settled on the otherside of the Banks of the Ohio. On Munday morning 10th Octr last a Deccisive Battle was fought at the mouth of the great Canhawa[2] Betwixt 150 of Augusta County troops under the Command of Col: Chas Lewis 800 of the troops belonging to Botitourt, Bedford and Fincastle County, under the Command of Col: Fleming and Col: Field; The Battle began half an hour after sun up and continowed verry hot until after noon, when the above Indians being above 800 in number were put to flight. In this Action were killed the above Col: Chas Lewis and Col: Field, Four Captains three subalterns and 44 private men. Col. Fleming was wounded three Captains four subalterns and 79 private men. The same evening after the Battle an express aravied at the Camp from Lord John Dunmore Governour of Virginia for this Division of the Army to Joyne him, he being then 75 Miles further up the Ohio on the Indian side with 600 more of the troops belonging to the foresaid Countys, he then knowing nothing of the Battle. Next day this part of the Army decamp'd and when they hade Joyn'd His Lodpp All the Army march'd foreward in order to Burn and destroy the whole Indian Touns; But when they were within three Miles of them, The Indians came out naked as they were born and Begged for Mercy and peace, they having lost above double the number of men that we did in the late engagement. Accordingly peace was granted them on the following terms Viz: 1st They are to deliver up all the white prisoners they have, next they are to deliver up somany of their principall men of each nation, to be keept as hostages for their good behavour in time to come, lastly they are to

[1] Mrs. Harrower's brother, Captain James Craigie, to whom a letter printed later is addressed, was a leading merchant of Lerwick. In the "Annals of the County of Zetland," referred to in the introduction, *supra*, he appears as appointed in 1763 to be overseer and superintendent of the building of the new tolbooth. In 1766, however, he is permitted to resign, his health having recently become impaired.

[2] The celebrated battle of Point Pleasant.

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pay the whole expence of the war in land at three pound per M Acres. So much for Indian news.

You no doubt have heard of the present disturb^{s} Betwixt Great Britain and the Collonys in N. America, Owing to severall Acts of Parliment latly made greatly infringing the rights and Liberties of the Americans, and in order to enforce these Acts, The Harbour and Toun of Boston are at present blockt up by a fleet and armie under the Command of Gen^{l} Gage. The Americans are determined to Act with Caution and prudence in this affair, and at same time are resolved not to lose an inch of their rights or liberties, nor to submit to these Acts. And in order to enforce a repeal of them, A Generall Congress was held at Philadelphia by Delegates from the following Provinces Viz^{t} New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rode Island and Providence Plantations, Connicticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, The Countys of Newcastle, Kent, and Sussex on Delewar, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina. The Delegates were chosen from the Houses of Burges of each of the above Collonys and met on the 5th Sept^{r} last and continued sitting untill the last of Oct^{r} And it is resolved that they will allow no goods to be imported into America from Great Britain, Ireland, or any of the Islands thereto belonging a^{ft} the 1st Ins^{t} Nor will they export from America to Great Britain or Ireland or any of the Islands thereto belonging any goods after the 1st Dec^{r} 1775 during which time any that are indebted to Great Britain may pay up their ballances. Ma[n]y and pretty are the resolves of August Assembly, but room wou'd fail me here to insert them. By the Congress the Bostonians are desired not to leave the Toun nor to give any offence to Gen^{l} Gage or the troops under his Command, But if he or they offers to commit the least Hostielyties in order to enforce any to the Obedience of these Acts, they are to repel force by force and the Bostonians can raise in their Collony in 24 Hours warning ods of 60 M men well disiplined and all readdy provided w^{t} arms and amunition. And the resolves of the Congress every one of the above Collonys and each man in every Collony are determined to abide by. And it is my oppinion that the laboring part and poor of Boston are as well supplied at present by controbutions sent free to them from the other Collonys as when their trade was oppen. M^{r} Daingerfield this year for his own hand gives them fifty Bushels of wheat and One Hundred Bushels of Indian Corn, By which ye may Judge of the rest.[1]

The 19th August last, M^{r} Daingerfield finished his wheat hearvest and began to plow and sow wheat again for the next crop 22 said M^{o} and after sowing 260 Bushels finished it the 1st of Nov^{r}. they are now gathering Indian Corn of which he will have better than 4000 bushels 3000 of which he will Use for his Nigers and horses, the rest for sale ; so much for American and Plantation news the Veracity of which you may depend upon and may show the same to any of your freinds or well wishers.

[1] There is on record at the Virginia State Library a list of contributors to this supply of the Bostonians. It embraces the names of many well-known men of the day, and the gifts range from one barrel of corn up.

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Your directions for me is to Jn° Harrower at the seat of Col.l Will.m Daingerfield Esq.r of Belvidera near Fredericksburgh Rappahannock River Virginia, and then inclose it in a letter to Mess.rs Anderson and Horseburgh Merch.ts in Glasgow and desire them to foreward the same under Cover to M.r John Glassel Mer.t in Fredericksb.g their Correspondent who will pay all charges for my acco.t.—Pray my Dearest let me know what my D.r Boys and Girle are doing. I hope Jock [1] and George are still at school and I begg of you to strain every nerve to keep them at it untill I am able to assist you, for he who has got education will always gain Bread and to spare, and that in a genteel way in some place or other of the World. I supose Betts is at home with yourself, but pray keep her tight to her seam and stockin and any other Housold affairs that her years are capable of and do not bring her up to Idleness or play or going about from house to house which is the first inlet in any of the sex to laziness and vice. Send me an Acco.t of their Ages from the Bible which ye may do verry short by saying Jo: Born —— day Nov. 1762 Geo: Born &.ca

I yet hope please God, if I am spared, some time to make you a Virginian Lady among the woods of America which is by far more pleasent than the roaring of the raging seas round abo't Zetland, And yet to make you eat more wheat Bread in your old age than what you have done in your Youth. But this I must do by carefullness, industry and a Close Application to Business, which ye may take notice of in this letter I am doing Sunday as well as Saturday nor will I slip an honest method nor an hour whereby I can gain a penny for yours and my own advantage.

There grows here plenty of extream fine Cotton which after being pict clean and readdy for the cards is sold at a shilling the pound; and I have at this time a great high Girl Carline as Black as the . . . spinning some for me for which I must pay her three shillings the pound for spinning it for she must do it on nights or on Sunday for any thing I know notwithstanding she's the Millers wife on the next plantation. But Im determined to have a webb of Cotton Cloath According to my own mind, of which I hope you and my infants shall yet wear apart; I cou'd write to you for a week for it gives me pleaser while I am writting to you, But as room fails me I must conclude with offering my good wishes to your Broth.r, M.r and M.rs Vance,[2] M.r and M.rs Forbes[3] and M.r Ferguson[4] if deserving at your hand with my Comp.ts to all who asks for me. And my

[1] In 1810 a J. Harrower, Caledonia Lodge of Masons, Edinburgh, affiliated at Lodge Morton, Lerwick, and he was appointed Proxy Master of the latter in 1815. This may have been our Harrower's son.

[2] James Vance seems to have been one of the most prominent and most esteemed men in Lerwick. He was land-waiter and postmaster for the government, and the kirk sessions records show him as precentor, and afterward as session clerk, kirk treasurer and elder. He was warmly interested in the promotion of education and other good works. His wife was Barbara Craigie, sister of Mrs. Harrower, and of Captain James Craigie.

[3] See note 2, on p. 84, *supra*.

[4] William Ferguson was married to Ann Ross, sister of Margaret Ross, wife of James Craigie. He was supervisor of excise at Lerwick, and was a native of Thurso in Caithness.

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sinceer prayers to God for you and my Dr Children and belive me to be ever while I have breath, My Dearest Jewell, your Afft husbd till death. Signed J. H. Addressed To Mrs John Harrower in Lerwick Zetland By Edinburgh, North Britain.

Saturday, 10th. This day after 12 Oclock rode to Town and delivd my letter dated 6th Inst to Mr John Glassell to be forewarded to Britain per first ship. Bought 1 PadLock at 1/ Curry and 1 Dozn Vest buttons silver plated at 1/ Curry and pocket expence 9d Curry.

Wednesday, 14th. This day Mr Daingerfield hade 35 Hoggs Killed weighting at an average about 150 lb. and they are to serve for salt Beacon untill the return of next year this time. all the Hams and Shoulders are cured with salt peter. Sold ½ dozn horn Buttons at 3¾.

Tuesday, 20th. last night I dreamt that my wife came to me here, and told me she had sent Johnnie and Bettie to Deall[1] to stay and left George in the house with M. J. the servant.

Sunday, 25th. Christmas day, stayed at home all day along wt the Overseer and Childreen because I hade no saddle to go to the Church with. In the morning the Coll Ordred up to school two Bottles of the best Rum and some suggar for me.

Munday, 26th. This forenoon the Coll wou'd have me to take his saddle and ride to Toun and Amuse myself, and when I was going gave me Six Shillings for pocket money. I went to Toun and Dined in a private house and after buying 1½ Dozn Mother of Pearle buttons for my white morsyld Vest I return'd home in the evening.

Tuesday, 27th. St. Johns day. This day[2] a Grand Lodge in Toun, And the whole went to Church in their Clothing and heard sermon.

Thursday, 29th. I began to keep school.

Freiday, 30th. This day there was severall Gentlemen from Fredericksburgh here at Dinner with whom I dined.

Tuesday, January 10th, 1775. This day Thos Brooks who has atten[d]ed ever night and on Sundays left school being obliged to go 40 miles up the country to work. at same time he gave me an order on Coll Daingerfield for £1. 10. 8. Curry of which £1. 5. 2 was for teaching him.

Saturday, 21st. Some time ago I having got a present of piece of Lead coulrd Cloath from Miss Lucy Gaines[3] I got made in a Vest by Kidbeck the Taylor for which I have this day paid him 3/ 1½ Curr.

Sunday, 22nd. This day at Church in Town and heard Mr Maree preach Text 2d Cors 4 Chap: and 18th Verse.

Tuesday, 31st. 1 pm yesterday Jas and Wm Porters, sons of Mr William Porter Merchr in Fredericksbg came here to School.

Tuesday, February 14th. This day the Coll on finding more wheat left among the straw then should be blamed Mr Lewis the Overseer for

[1] A village on the mainland of Scotland, in Caithness, about ten miles south of Thurso. Harrower may have come from there or had relatives living there.

[2] Always a day of especial festivity at Fredericksburg, ending in a ball at the Sun Rise tavern.

[3] The housekeeper.

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his carelessness, upon which Mr Lewis seem'd verry much enraged for being spoke to and verry sawcily threw up all the keys he hade in charge and went off; upon which the Coll sent for me and delivered me the keys of the Barn and begged I would assist him in his business untill he got another Overseer.

[*Wednesday*], *15th.* This morning the Coll sent to scholl for me, and begg'd me to go to Snowcreek Barn and deliver the wheat that was there first to the Vessel who was come to receive the whole of it. She was a schooner of 120 Tun Mrs name Jno Lurtey.

Tuesday, 21st. Empld as Yesterday. This day the Coll engaged a young man for an Overseer Whose name is Anthony Fraser.

Thursday, 23d. This day finised trading out wheat, also delivd the last of it having delivered One thousand five hundred Bushels and 240 Bushels formerly delivd by Mr Lewis which with 260 Bushels sown makes 2000 Bushels besides serving the Famely and some bushels sold to people who works on the plantation.

Munday, 27th. This day Mr Fraser came here and entred to take his charge as Overseer, and he is to have his bed in the school along with me. he appears to be a verry quiet young man and has hade a tolerable education. his Grandfather came from Scotland.

Saturday, March 18th. Last night a verry keen frost so that all the fruit that is blossom'd is in danger of being killed by it. Same day I wrote Mr Samuel Edge the following letter Vizt

Sir

When I hade the pleasure of seeing [you] on the 4th Feby last at your howse you then told me you was to be in Town the week after, and proposed calling here in your way home, in order to pay me the twenty shillings as agreed on; but since have heard nothing from you. Nothing but the real necessity for some books (which I greatly want) Oblidges me now to trouble you with this, hopping if it is any ways convenient for you, that you will send the cash per the bearer (and if required) how soon time will permit me to see you shall give you an ample discharge. My compliments to yourself Mrs Edge and Miss Sally and am &ca

Saturday, 25th. At noon went to Newport to see Mr Martin Heely schoolmaster to Mr Spotswood's Children, and after Dinner I spent the afternoon with him in conversation and hearing him play the Fiddle. He also made a Niger come and play on an Instrument call'd a Barrafou. The body of it is an oblong box with the mouth up and stands on four sticks put in bottom, and cross the [top] is laid 11 lose sticks upon [which] he beats.

Sunday, 26th. 9 AM Set out on horseback for Mount Church[1] in Caroline County in Company with Mr Richards, Mrs Richards, Mr Martin Heely, Mr Anthony Frazer and Miss Lucy Gaines. And heard Mr Waugh preach his text being the 1st V. of the 12th Chapter of Ecclesias-

[1] For Mount Church, in St. Mary's parish, see Bishop Meade's *Old Churches, Ministers and Families of Virginia*, I. 410–412. Rev. Abner Waugh was the incumbent of the parish, having recently succeeded the more famous Rev. Jonathan Boucher.

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tes. After which we all returned to M^{r} Richards before 3 pm where we dined and spent the afternoon. From Belvidera to Mount Church is 10 Miles.

Saturday, April 1st. At 6 pm M^{r} Martin Heely schoolmaster at Newport for M^{r} Spotswoods Children came here to pay me a Visite and staid with me all night.

Sunday, 9th. This day a good number of Company dined here among which was M^{r} and M^{rs} Porter from Town, who heard their eldest son read and seemed verry well pleased with his performance since he came to me; Myself at home all day.

Freiday, 14th. This being good Freiday, I broke up school for Easter Holly-day, and the Col^{ls} three sons went to Town with M^{r} Porter's two sons this forenoon I went a money hunting but catc'd none.

Saturday, 15th. This forenoon I went a Money Hunting again an other way but hade no better success then yesterday. This afternoon M^{r} Frazer went up the Country to see his Mother and friends, and I give out corn for him, untill he returns again.

Munday, 17th. At 8 AM I rode to Town in order to see the boys and Amuse myself fore some hours. On my Aravel in Town the first thing I got to do was to dictate and write a love letter from M^{r} Anderson, to one Peggie Dewar at the Howse of M^{r} John Mitchel at the Wilderness. After that I went to M^{r} John Glassell's store to enquire for letters from home but found none; here I mett with the Col^{l} who gave me two pair brown thread stockins for my summers wear. At 2 pm I dined with him in M^{r} Porters, and soon after Returned home.

Thursday, 20th. This morning all the boys came to school again at their Usual hour. On tuesday last was missed out of the pasture a breeding mare. search being made fore her by the Overseer he found this afternoon the Neiger fellow who hade rode her off and after riding her about 24 Miles from the Plantation turned her loose in the high road. he is a Blacksmith by trade and belongs to and works at a Plantation of M^{r} Corbins,[1] and after he had confessed the fact M^{r} Frazer ower Overseer stript him to the [skin] and gave him 39 laches with Hickry switches that being the highest the Law allows at one Wheeping.

Munday, 24th. This morning the Col^{l} began to have his Indian Corn planted which they do in following maner Viz^{t} The plowers plow three furrows close together from one end of the field to the other, the midle furrow of each three being 6 feet distance from the middle of the next three and so on from the one side of the field to the other, Then they run one furrow across the field and at 6 feet distance another and so on in streight lines from the one end of the field to the other which leaves the whole field like a dambrod[2] then the Neigers drop the corn in every square and at the same time with a strock of their How cover [them]. the grown betwixt the furrow are brocke up Afterw^{ds} at Liesure with the Ploughs without any Damage to the corne. But the best method is when the ploughs is lay off the ground withe one furrow a Neiger

[1] To whom Harrower was afterward overseer. [2] Checker-board.

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ought to follower every Plough drop the corn and immediatly cover it up. Some are now done planting of corn. last night Mr. Frazer found the Mare that was rode off and brought her home.

Freiday, 28th. This day by an express from Boston we are informed of an engagement betwixt the British troops and the Bostonians, in which the former were repuls'd with loss, but no particulars as yet.

Saturday, 29th. This day there was at Fredricksburgh about 600 men under Arms composed of the independant companys of severall Counties. they designed to have Marched to Williamsburg and to have made the Governor deliver back some poweder he caused to be Clandestinlly carried off, but was prevented by an express from the speacker with advice that the Governor was readdy to give it up on ten minutes warning.[1]

Wednesday, May 3d. This day the Col.ˡ bought and recᵈ ten bushels of Spanˢ Salt for ten bushels Indian Corn. at noon the Colˡˢ Nigers finised planting Indian Corn having planted about 300 Acres of land, which took about 25 Bushels of sead.

Saturday, 6th. This afternoon I planted 41 hills of grownd with Cotton seed.

Sunday, 7th. At 2 houses this day seeking money that was owing me but got none.

Munday, 8th. This morning I planted 22 Hills of grownd with Water Mellon and Mush Mellon Seed. This afternoon I eat ripe strawberries.

Saturday, 20th. This day I wrote the following letter to Samˡ Edge for Twenty shillings that has been due me since the 25ᵗʰ Novʳ 1774.

Mʳ Samuel Edge

Sir—I wrote you 18ᵗʰ March last requesting you then to send me per the Bearer then sent, the twenty shillings you are indebted to me, which money you promised to have paid a Month before that time. Notwithstanding of which I have neither seen nor heard from you since, which to me appear some what Strange.

On Saturday last I was informed you intended to send me a wild Goose hunting by giving me a Draught on another. But if any one is owing you I do not chuse to demand the debt; Therefore I hereby aquant you that I will not accept a draught upon none; Therefore I am hopefull you will now send the money by the bearer hereof as I really have pressing occassion for it and cannot be longer without it, having neither stock nor store here to receive money with to purchase what I really cannot be without. your complyance to the above will greatly oblige and wherein I can serve you may freely command Sir yours &ᶜᵃ

Signed J H

Addressed To Mr. Samuel Edge, Overseer.

This afternoon I was invited to a Gentlemans house in order to eat plenty of ripe Cherries.

[1] See Henry's *Patrick Henry*, I. 277–279; Sparks's *Washington*, II. 507–509.

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Sunday, 21st. This day I hade sent me a present from M^rs^ Porter in Fred^k^ two silk Vestcoats and two pair cotton britches all of them having been but verry little wore by M^r^ Porter.

Saturday, 27th. This afternoon I rode to Town and bought at M^r^ Porters Store 2 handkerchiefs and one Yd Bedd Tyke[1] at 2/2d Curr^y^ being all 5/2d. Curr^y^. At same time rec^d^ a letter from my Wife dated 1^st^ March 1775. It came under cover to M^r^ John Glassell Merch^t^ in Toun and cost me 1/3d Curr^y^. At same time rec^d^ from Tho^s^ Anderson a pair of new Shoes on the Col^ls^ Acco^t^.

Saturday, June 3d. At 9 AM M^r^ Porter's two son's was sent for and they went to Toun to keep Whitsuntide holliday.

Wednesday, 7th. Began to keep school again.

Freiday, 16th. This day at 9 AM Col^o^ Daingerfield set out for his Q^r^ down the Country at Chickahommanie to receive his Cash for the last years produce of said plantation from John Miller his Overseer there.

Sunday, 18th. This day at 10 AM went to John Pattie's and rec^d^ 6/ for teaching his William ¼ of a year and from [thence] to Thomas Evans's and rec^d^ 20/ for teaching his Daught^r^ Sarah for One Year.

Saturday, July 1st. At noon I went to Frederick^s^ and bought 15 bigg Double Guilt buttons at 4/9 One hank silk twist at 1/ and one ounce brown thread at 6d. my pocket expence this day 1/. I returned home an houre before sun down.

Freiday, 7th. This day at sunset Col^o^ Daingerfield finished cutting down 260 Bushels sowing of wheat in fifteen days with seven Cradlers and it was done in 6 days less time than 203 bushels sowing was last Harvest and with fewer hands. For this Harvest his money payments to Out labourers is reduced no less than £18.4. 6d. lower than it was last and at same time the Wheat better put up all which is chiefly owing to the Activity of Anthony Frazer the present Overseer.

Saturday 8th. This moring began to bring Wheat to the Barn with two Carts Six Oxen in the One and three Horses in the Other.

Sunday, 16th. This day I went to Church in Toun and heard sermon preached by one M^r^ Murray his text was Math: 6^th^ and 24^th^ V. I was no pocket expence this day.

Wednesday, 19th. This day I was Informed that M^rs^ Daingerfield hade made a Complaint upon me to the Col^o^ for not waiting after Breackfast and dinner (sometimes) in order to take the Children along with me to scholl; I imagine she has a grudge against me since the middle of Feb^y^ last the reason was, that one night in the Nursery I wheep'd Billie for crying for nothing and she came in and carried him out from me. Some nights after he got into the same humour and his Papa The Col^o^ hearing him call'd me and Asked why I cou'd hear him do so and not correct him for it; Upon that I told him how M^rs^ Daingerfield had behaved when I did correct him. At that he was angry w^t^ her.

[1] Bed-tick.

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Saturday, 22d. On Saturd^{y} 13 Ins^{t} some words happned betwixt John M^{c}Dearmand and the Col^{o} about John's not being expedecious enough About stacking and requiring too many hands to attend him upon which John left the work immedeatly and has not returned since. And by the Acco^{ts} in my hands I find the Col^{o} is in Johns debt £9.10.9 Virg^{a} Currancy.

Sunday, 23d. M^{rs} Porter having been here all night from Town; I this day after breackfast brought all the boys with their books into the passage to the Col^{o} who heard each of them read and was highly pleased with their performance. M^{rs} Porter likeways told that her sons did me great honour; as well as the rest.

Wednesday, 26th. This day at noon was finished the bringing hom and stacking the Col^{os} Wheat having 18 Stacks of 100 Bushels each by Computation besides a Large Barn fill'd up to the roof. It was brought home this year in 15 days less time than it was last year. I this day ate Watermelon of my own planting it being the first I ate this season.

Wednesday, August 2d. Yesterday the Col^{o} Began to Sow Wheat for the ensewing croop. This day came to School W^{m} John and Lucy Patties, and are to pay conform to the time they Attend. expecting a Visit of M^{r} Kenedy sent to Town for a bottle of Vest India Rum which cost me 1/3 Currancy.

Tuesday, 22d. This morning the Col^{o} began to trade out wheat in the Yard with horses which is done in the following manner Viz^{t} They take wheat from the stack and spreads it about eight foot broad in a large circle, and with as many horses as they have they ride upon it round and round and 3 or 4 men keep always turning and stirring it up, and by this method they with 10 or 12 horses will trade out 100 Bushels in a day. where they trade Just now is 300 feet Circumference.

Munday, 28th. Coppy of my 4th Letter wrote this day to my wife.

My Dearest Life

Your most agreeable favours I rec^{d} 27th May last, which was dated 1st March, And you may belive me it gave me the greatest satisfaction I have hade for twelve months past to hear from your own hand that you my Dearest Jewell and my sweet Infants are and has been in a good state of health since I left you, As I still am and has been for the above time, For which we have all great reason to render all due praise to that ever Glorious Being who wisely governs and directs all our Acctions; And may he for the sake of him who suffered on the Cross for all sinners continoue to protect and direct you and all that conserns us for the better. I would have wrote you sooner after the recept of yours, had I not been waiting an Answer to a verry long letter I wrote 6th Dec^{r} last which I find had not come to your hand when you wrote me but am hopefull it has long before now and an Answer to it on its way here. When you write me I intreat you to do it on a sheet of the largest post paper you can get and leave no waste room in it, as the postage is no more than if it was three lines on ¼ sheet. And sure I am you can find subject enough to fill a sheet of paper as you well know that

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whatever comes from your hand must be agreeable. I am extreamly glad to hear you are Chiefly directed by your Brothr Capt. Craigie and I think myself highly obliged to him both for his advice and assistance to you in my absence, I having of this date wrote him myself and given him my most hearty thanks for his good offices to you and begged his continouance of the same.

I begg you to advise with your Brother on that paragraph of my last letter with respect to your moving here, and I have likeways now begged him to write me his thoughts on the same subject, so that I expect you will both write me fully on recept of this, and I begg you to put him in mind of it. I have also wrote him to be assisting to you, untill such time as the ports are oppen for trade betwixt Britain and the Collonies and the disputes made up betwixt them, for untill that is done there is no such thing as remitting money or goods from any part of America to Britain, which gives me a good deall of trouble on your Acct of which your Brothr can more fully inform you of, As also of the engagements that has been betwixt the British troops and the forces of the united Collonies before Boston as room wou'd faill me here to do it. As to Mr Forbes pray make my Compts to him and spouse and tell him from me that I make no doubt from the information I have of his making good bread in this Country for that a Journaman Bricklayer here has no less than five shillings a day Currancy which is equall to four Shillings Stg. And I am aquanted with an Undertaker in that branch of business who is now set down on good Estate and rides in his Chair every day. But if he was to come over he must resolve to give closs application to business and keep from drinking. About 7 months ago a Gentleman in Fredericksbg hade his two sons taken from the high school there and put under my care for which he pays me £5 a year. He is an English man himself and his Lady from Edinburgh,[1] and I have the pleasure to have given the parents such satisfaction that I hade sent me in a present two silk vestcoats and two pair of britches ready to put on for changes in summer. I observe my Dear Dogg George writes me his name at the foot of your letter, But I am surprized that you take no notice of Jack and Bettie. But I hope you will not faill to be more particular about them in your next, and give my blessing to them all and tell them from me that I hope they will be obedient to you in every respect and mind their books. Before I get things brought to a bearing was any vessell by chance to put into Bressaysound[2] bound for any part of Virginia or for Pawtomack river which divides this Collony from Maryland, I wou'd have you at all events Make your Brother apply for your Passage with the Children and a servant and imediatly dispose of every article in the house your Feather Bedds Bedding and Cloaths excepted, and if any money to spare lay it out in Linen ;[3] and write me imediatly on your Aravell here by post

[1] Mr. and Mrs. Porter.

[2] The harbor of Lerwick.

[3] Linen was one of the chief articles of domestic manufacture and export from Shetland in the eighteenth century.

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and I shou'd soon be with you. May God grant that such a cast may happen to you. I must now conclude by offering my Compt^{s} to M^{r} and M^{rs} Vance, and all who enquires for me in a friendly way, with my blessing to you my sweet life and my Dear Infants is all at present from, My Dearest Jewell, your ever affectionate Husband while—Signed J. H.

Belvidera 28th Aug^{t} 1775. Addressed to M^{rs} John Harrower in Lerwick, Zetland, by Edinburgh, North Britain.

Same date. A Coppy.

D^{r} Sir

I make no doubt but by my not laying my mind oppen to you sooner I have partly incur'd your displeasure, But before I am done shall hope for your excusing me, And allow me to take this opportunity of returning you my most gratefull Acknowledgements for your good advice and Assistance to my Dearest Wife and Children since we have been absent from one another, and I earnestly intreat your continouance of the same and am hopefull you will not see her in strait untill I am able to repay you, and wherin I can serve you or yours it shall never be wanting on my part. My design of leaving Zetland for some time was only known to my wife; And the making it known to any person else wou'd not in all probabilitie wou'd not have hindred it; I being so straitned that nothing but money upon Intrest for some Considerable time cou'd have saved me from being personally exposed; But when I left the Country, I did not intend going further than Holland, or even London cou'd I have found business there to my liking but not finding that, and the frost being strong in Holland, I was determined to see what I cou'd do in this Western World. And as to my business and situation here, Annie can fully inform you if she has not already done it. Here I have keept my health much better than ever I did before in any place, and am as happily situated as I cou'd wish hade I my wife and Children with me, Only not in a way at present to make much money, tho I hope in a short time I shall be able to make more; I have now wrote Annie to advise with you with respect to her moving to this Country with the Children, and shall expect her thoughts upon it in her next; And I earnestly begg of you that on receipt of this you take the trouble to write me yourself and give me your mind on the same subject, likeways let me know how trade goes with any thing else that is remarcable in the country, And Annie will give you the proper directions for me.

Untill the disputes betwixt Goverment and the Collonies are settled there is no such thing as getting any remittance made to any part in Britain; Hostilities being already begun at Boston and three Engagements already fought betwixt the British troops and the provincialls the last of which on the 17th June last at Charleston near Boston, when the Provincialls gained the day as they did of the other two. In this last Eng^{t} Gen^{ll} Gage hade above a thousand men left dead on the field of Battle and 500 wounded. Among the dead are many of the British offi-

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cers, which is owing to the Americans taking sight when they fire, An instance of w^h^ I shall here give you. Col^o^ Washington of this Collony being appointed Generalissimo of all the American Forces raised and to be raised, made a demand of 500 Rifflemen from the fronteers of this Coll^y^. But those that insisted on going far exceeded the number wanted when in order to avoid giving offence, The commanding Officer chuse his Comp^y^ by the following method Viz^t^ He took a board of a foot squar and w^t^ Chalk drew the shape of a moderate nose in the center and nailed it up to a tree at 150 yd^s^ distance and those who came nighest the mark with a single ball was to go. But by the first 40 or 50 that fired the nose was all blown out of the board, and by the time his Comp^y^ was up the board shared the same fate. How or when these differences will [end] God only knows, But the Americans are determined to stand by one another to the last man and all exports and imports are intirely stopt also planting of Tobacco. On 26^th^ last M^o^ wheat Harvest was finised on this Plantation by getting the last of it brought home and stacked, the Amount of which will be about 3 thousand bushells, and now ten ploughs are at work every day ploughing wheat into the ground again for the next croop. It is sown here in the same field where the Indian corn is growing, so that both grow together untill the M^o^ of Nov^r^ when the corn is gathered and the field cleared of the stalks. Indian corn is planted at six feet distance each way as streight and regular as you do Cabbage in a garden and when it is sprung up only two stalks left in a hill; It will grow from five to twelve or fourteen high and each stalk will have two if not three Ears on it and each Ear will have from five to Eight hundred grains on it, the size of which you know. But from Ap^ll^ the time it is planted untill now that the wheat is sown among it, It is kept as clean of grass and weeds as a garden by the Ploughs running continually betwixt the rows first the one way and then the other, and the Howers going round the hills with their hows, and without this work it wou'd come to no perfection. Of Corn there will be on this Plantation about 8 or 9 Hundred Barrells at five Bushells to the Barrell, about 350 Barrell will be used for the Nigers and Horses, the rest for sale, the price about 10/ per B^ll^. As for what the White ates of it is but triffling for three Barrell of Corn is rather more than any one Man can use in a year let him ate no other bread, the value of which is only 30/. All the white people on the Plantation is the Col^o^, his Lady, five Children, a Housekeeper an Overseer and myself, But I think no more now of seeing 40 or 50 Nigers every day, than I did of seeing so many [Dabling ?]wifes at Johnsmiss[1] with single stockins, two or three of the best of which if I hade here I cou'd sell to Good Acco^t^. On casting my Eye out of the window I cannot help most heartily wishing you hade some of the most Charming Watermellons I have now growing and some of them ripe within less 3 Yd^s^ of where I sitt. Some of which will weigh from 20 to 30 lb. My Plantation for my Amusement consists of the following Articles Viz^t^ Water

[1] St. John's Day.

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melons, mushmelons, Cucumbers, Pumpkins, Gourds spanish Pitatoes and Cotton. So much for Plantation information.

I am truly affraid I have incroached on your patience already in giving you the trouble of reading this long epistle therefore I shall conclude at this time by earnestly entreating you to write me at Large and let me know your thoughts on the present disputes betwixt the Collonies and the Ministry. My Compt.s to M.rs Craigie Miss Peggy and your two sons to M.r and M.rs Sands[1] and their children and please accept of the same yourself from him who is with sinceer regaird D.r S.r your Most Aff.t Broth.r and Hu.l Serv.t J. H.r

Belvidera 28th August 1775. Addressed to Cap.t James Craigie in Lerwick, Zetland, by Edinburgh, North Britain.

Saturday, September 2d. At noon rode to Town and delivered two letters to Mr. Henry Mitchell, One for my wife and one for her Brother Cap.t James Craigie After which I retur.d home by sundown.

Wednesday, 6th. This day I was informed by M.r Frazer that M.rs Daingerfield talking to them of me that morning about some Glue disresptfully calld me Old Harrower by which and her behaveiour to myself I find her grudge continous tho she has not courage to say any thing to myself well knowing she has [no] foundation to go upon.

Sunday, 10th. This day came Dick a Serv.t belonging to M.r Anderson from Toun and a Comerade of his to see me and Brought me a pair new shoes and a pair for M.r Frazer also a Bottle Vest India Rum which we drank in school in Company with M.r Frazer.

Munday, 11th. This day sent my letter to wife to Fredericksb.g by M.r Frazer and gave him 1/6 to give with it at the post office as Postage to New York. But M.r Brown my friend the Clark told M.r Frazer he wou'd send it home free for me by a Ship going to saile.

Friday, 15th. Wrote my 5th Letter this day from Virginia, This being the Coppy.

My Dearest Life, Yours of the 12th May last I received 2.d Ins.t imediatly after sending off one for you and one for your Aff.te brother dated 28th last M.o Both which will come to your Hand I imagine at the same time that this will as I am oblidged to send this to New York by post in order to come to London by the Pacquet, There being no more Opportunities from this Collony to Glasgow this season, by reason that the Nonimportation and Nonexportation Acts of the Continental Congress now takes place and will continue untill the disputes betwixt Great Britain and the Colonys be settled. And I intreat you imediatly on receipt of this letter to wait on your Brother and show it to him, and he will more fully inform you of these Matters than room will permit me to do here, As my principal Design of writing you this so soon after my last is to make you as easy as possible I can, both with respect to my not sending for you and making you a remittance. As to the first of these I cou'd not be certain if you wou'd come to this Country or not untill I

[1] Rev. James Sands was the minister of Lerwick.

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rec^{d} your last letter. But as I find by it you are satisfied to come here, you may believe me nothing in this world can give me equall satisfaction to my having you and my D^{r} Infants with me. As a proof of which I have ever signified the same in my letters to your brother. And I now declare unto you as I sinceerly write from my heart before God, that I will how soon I am able point out the way to you how you may get here, and at same time make you what remittance I can in order to Assist you on your way. But you must consider that as I hade not a shilling in my pocket when I left you It must take me some time befor I can be able to make you a remittance. Therefore I even pray you for Gods sake to have patience and keep up your heart and no means let that fail you: For be asured the time is not Longer to you than me, And the National disputes and the stopage of trade betwixt this and the Mother Country if not soon settled will of course make the time longer as your bro^{r} will inform you. As to your Jocks upon me with respect to my getting a Virginian Lady it is the least in all my thoughts and am determined to leave that Jobb for you by aiding your sons with your advice to them in their choise of wifes among the Virginian Ladys: For I am resolved (as at first) to do as much for you as God is pleased to put in my power.

I am glad you are moved to a place of the Toun, as you say agreeable to your own disposition, but am extreamly fearfull for you on Acco^{t} of the earthen floor: And considering Forbes behavour to you, what I wrote you in my last conserning him you have prudence enough to keep it to yourself, and I will give myself no further trouble here about him. I am verry uneasy about your being so tender this spring But am hopefull you have quite got the better of it before now. At same time it gives me great satisfaction to hear the Children are all well, and that Jock is still at Walls.[1] I hope he is now making some progress in his Education, and am hopefull George will do the same. As for Betts Im not afraid of her considering whose hands she is under. I have nothing further to add at present only I again begg of you to keep a good heart and do the best you can untill it please God to enable me to assist you and for aught I think you shall hear no more from me untill I be able to remitt you either more or less.

My Compliments and sinceer good wishes to your Brother M^{r} Craigie, his spouse and Family likeways my Comp^{ts} to M^{r} and M^{rs} Vance, and all others wh may enquire for me in a friendly way; with my sinceer love and prayers to God for you my Dearest Jewell and Children is all at present from your ever Aff^{te} Husb^{d} signed J. H. Belvidera 15th Sept^{r} 1775. Addressed To M^{rs} John Harrower in Lerwick Zetland by the New York Packet to London and by Edin^{r} North Britain.

Thursday, 28th. This morning I rec^{d} from Benjamin Edge by the hand of his daughter two Dollars, one half and one Quarter Dollar being in all sixteen shillings and Sixpence in part payment for teaching his son

[1] On the west of the island of Mainland, about ten miles from Lerwick.

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and daughter. Same day I seed a Compy of 70 Men belonging to one of the Regiments of Regullars raised here for the defence of the rights and liberties of this Colly in particular and of North America in Generall. They were on their March to Williamsburg.

Thursday, October 12th. Company here last night Vizt Old Mrs Waller, her son and his wife and at school there Mr Heely Schoolmaster and Mr Brooks Carpenter and they w. Mr Frazer and myself played whist and danced untill 12 OClock, Mr Heely the Fidle and dancing. We drank one bottle of rum in time. Mr Frazer verry sick after they went home.

Munday, 16th. This morning 3 men went to work to break, swingle and heckle flax and one woman to spin in order to make course linnen for shirts to the Nigers, This being the first of the kind that was made on the plantation. And before this year there has been little or no linnen made in the Colony.

Tuesday 17th. Two women spining wool on the bigg wheel and one woman spinning flax on the little wheel all designed for the Nigers.

Munday, 23d. One Frieday last I lent to Miss Lucy one pair of my shoes to spin with. This day General Washintons Lady dined here, As did her son and Daugr in Law,[1] Mrs Spotswood, Mrs Campbell, Mrs Dansie, Miss Washington and Miss Dandrige, They being all of the highes Rank and fortunes of any in this Colony.

Saturday, 28th. Last night came here to school Mr Heely and Thos Brooks in order to spend the evening, but by reason of Mr Frazer's not coming from the House, and some stories told them by Mrs Richards in order to sow disention, She being really a Wolf cloathed with a lambs skin and the greatest Mischief maker I have seen in all my Travels, The first time I seed her, I cou'd observe in her countenance Slyness and deceit, and I have always avoided going to the House as much as possible, But now I really think she ought to be avoided by every christian who regairds peace and their own character, They both went home at 10 pm.

Sunday, 29th. Yesterday at noon Mr Heely came here and asked me to take a walk with him in order to see Miss Molly White late housekeeper at Newport she having some shirts of his making for him, and after crossing the river we found her at an Aunts house of hers one Mrs Hansfords where we stayed all night, and this day Miss Molly came with us two Miles to a Gentlemans house in our way home, and after aquanting Mr Heely where his shirts was ready for him the conversation turned upon clearing themselves to each other of most malicious stories raised by the above Mrs Richards in order to set them at variance and included with them was Miss Lucy Gaines our housekeeper, and myself. But now that every one has discovered the snake, I belive in time coming her bite will be avoided.

[1] John Parke Custis and his wife Eleanor Calvert. The Mrs. Spotswood referred to was probably the wife of Col. Alexander Spotswood of Newport, a niece of Gen. Washington. Mrs. Campbell was probably Mary, the widow of John Spotswood, son of the governor, who married John Campbell, Gentleman. Miss Washington must have been a niece of Gen. Washington, and Miss Dandridge was perhaps a niece of his wife.

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Thursday, November 9th. Upon Thursday 2d Inst there was a Camp Marked out close at the back of the school for a Batalion of 500 private men besides officers and they imediatly began to erect tents for the same.[1] And this day the whole was finished for 250 men being 50 tents for the privates and 6 Do for officers and 3 Do for the Comissary and his stores, with one for a Buffalo which is to be shown which I shall afterwards describe.—This day the 250 men being 5 Companys from different parts aravied at the Camp the other 5 Companys not being as yet compleated.

Saturday, 11th. At 11 OClock forenoon I rode to Toun and bought one stone Mugg and Tin pot at 10d. and 1¼ yd. Linen at 5/ of which I wanted two stocks for winter wear, and the rest of it I made a present to Miss Lucy, for her readyness to do any little thing for me; I seed no worsted stockins for sale but one pair all Moth eaten and as they were they asked no less than 6/ for them. I dined at Mr Porters spent 7½ at Mr Anderson and then came home by sun down.

Sunday, 12th. This day a great number of company from Toun and Country to see the Camp four of which (Gentlemen) paid me a visite which put me to 1/3 expence for a bottle of rum. at noon by Accident one of the Captains tents was set on fire and all consumed but none of things of any Acct Lost.

Munday, 13th. This forenoon the Coll sent a waggon Load of Turnups and Pitatoes to the Camp as a present for all the men.

Tuesday, 14th. All the minute-men in the Camp employed learning their exercise.

Wednesday, 15th. This morning I drank a small dram of rum made thick with brown suggar for the cold, it being the first dram I have drunk since I lived on the Plantation.

Thursday, 16th. The soldiers at muster.

Freiday, 17th. The soldiers at Do, and I left of going into the Nursery and taking charge of the children out of school.

Wednesday, 29th. This day the camp was brocke up and the whole Batallion dismissed after each private receiving 22 days pay at 1/4 per day and 1/ for provisions out and home. During the time the camp was by the school it cost me 8/ 1½ of expences which is more by 2/ than it cost me for 12 Months before.

Saturday, December 2d. At noon went to Toun and seed two Companys of regulars from the Ohio among which was one real Indian. he was of a Yelow couler short brod faced and rather flat nosed, and long course black [hair] quite streight. he spoke verry good english. I staid in Toun all night and slept at Mr Andersons; I bought from Mr Porter a black Silk Handkerchief at 5/.

Sunday, 3d. After breackfast I went and found out Miss Molly White and left with her cloth to make me two winter Stocks and a stock to make them by. Dined in Toun, came home in the afternoon.

[1] An ordinance of the July Convention had provided for twenty days' drill on the part of the minute-men of each group of counties. The minute-men of the district composed of Caroline, Spotsylvania, King George and Stafford were to number five hundred rank and file. Hening, IX. 16.

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Wednesday, 27th.

1st Both the last nights quite drunk was I,
Pray God forgive me [of] the sin;
But had I been in good company,
Me in that case No man had seen.

2d Plac'd by myself, without the camp,
As if I were unclean—
No friendly soul does my floor tramp,
My greiff to ease, or hear my moan.

3d For in a prison at large I'm plac't,
Bound to it, day and night;
O, grant me patience, god of grace.
And in thy paths make me walk right.

4th This day alone, at home I am,
Repenting sadly and full sore
That ever the like unto me came.
When this I see, The cause I will repent for ever more.

Wednesday, January 10th, 1776. This day we hade the Confirmation of Norfolk being reduced to ashes by the Men of War and British Troops under Command of Lord Dunmore. It was the Largest Toun in the Collony and a place of great Trade, it being situated a little within the Capes. Severall Women and Childn. are killed.

Saturday, 13th. After 12 O Clock I went six Miles into the Forrest to one Daniel Dempsies to see if they wou'd spin three pound of Cotton to run 8 yds. per lb., ⅔ of it belonging to Miss Lucy Gaines for a goun and ⅓ belonging to myself for Vestcoats, which they agd. to do if I carried the cotton there on Saturdy. 27th. Inst.

Sunday, 14th. At 11 AM I Sett out for Mansfield the seat of Man Page,[1] Esqr. in order to see one Mr. Reid Gairdner[2] who came from Dunkell in Scotland. Mr. Scott Watch maker from Toun being also with him. I staid with them untill after sundown, having dined and being verry genteely entertained. Mr. and Mrs. Porter and all their Children came here to dinner and staid all night.

Munday, 15th. Miss Lucy spinning my croop of Cotton at night after her work is done; to make me a pair of gloves.

Wednesday, 17th. This evening Miss Lucy came to school with Mr. Frazer and me, and finished my croop of Cotton by winding it, after its being doubled and twisted the whole consisting of two ounces.

Tuesday, 23d. This day I entred Edwin into the Latin Gramer.

Saturday, 27th. After 12 pm I went to the forrest to the house of Daniel Dempsies and carried with me three pound of pick'd Cotton two of which belongs to Miss Lucy Gaines and one to me, which his wife has

[1] Mann Page of Mansfield, half-brother of Governor John Page, was a member of the Continental Congress in 1777.

[2] *I. e.*, gardener.

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agreed to spin to run 8 Yd^{s} per lb., I paing her five shillings per lb. for spinning it and it is to be done by the end of May next.

Tuesday, March 5th. This morning Bathurest Daingerfield got don reading through the Bible and the Newtestament, and began to learn to write 15 Ult^{o}. I gave them Holyday this Afternoon.

Saturday, April 20th. At noon I asked the Col^{o} for a bottle of rum as I expected two Countrymen to see me tomorrow, which he verry cheerfully gave and desired me to ask him for one any time I wanted it and told me to take them to the Howse to dinner with me. in the afternoon he, his Lady, and Daughter went over the river to M^{r} Jones's in King George County.

Tuesday, 23d. At noon rode to Town, got the Newspapers and settled with M^{r} Porter for teaching his two sons 12 M^{os} when he verry genteely allowed me £6 for them, besides a present of two silk vests and two pair of Nankeen Breeches last summer and a Gallon of rum at Christenmass, both he and M$^{r.s}$ Porter being extreamly well satisfied with what I hade don to them.

Wednesday, 24th. General Muster of all the County Malitia in Town today. at Breackfast the Col^{o} desired me to go and see it if I pleased, But being in town yesterday I chose to stay to day with my boys.

Sunday, 28th. This day came here to pay me a visit M^{r} Reid from Mansfield and M^{r} Scott from Toun and dined with me in the great house by the Col^{os} order, and after we hade spent the afternoon verry agreeably together they returned home in the evening.

Sunday, May 5th. Early this morning I went to M^{r} McCalley's and entred his oldest son (about 8 years of age) to writting, stayed there all day and rode his horse home in the evening. The Col^{o} went to Newport and dinned there.

Tuesday, 7th. Billie ended reading through his Bible.

Thursday, 9th. After dinner I took the boys with me to Massaponacks Briges to see 56 prisoners that was taken at the late battle in North Carolina,[1] among them was a great many Emigrants from Scotland who were all officers. I talked with several of them from Ross Sh^{r} and the Isle of Sky.

Freiday, 17th. Gen^{ll} Fast by order of the Congress. I went to Church in Toun but no sarmon. dined at M^{r} McAlleys and came home in the evening. The Col^{o} and his Lady at Mount C^{h}.

Munday, 27th. At 9 AM I went to M^{r} McAlleys and staid teaching his Son and sister untill dark and then rode home bringing with me 1½ Yd. Linen for summer breeches.

Thursday, June 6th. In the afternoon I went to M^{r} Becks, when he told me that M^{rs} Battle wanted to see me and to talk to me about teaching her two daughters to write, upon which I imediatly waited upon her and engaged to return upon Saturd next by 1 pm and begin them to write but made no bargain as yet.

[1] Battle of Moore's Creek Bridge, February 27, 1776. In the list of prisoners, Force's *American Archives*, Fourth Series, V. 63, are many Highland names.

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Saturday, 8th. At noon I went to Mrs Bataile's and entred two of her Daughters to writting, Viz. Miss Sallie and Miss Betty and continoued teaching them until night, when I agreed to attend them every Saturday afternoon and every other Sunday from this date until 8th June 1777 (If it please God to spare me) for four pound Virginia currancy.

Sunday, 9th. After breackfast I rode to Mr McAlleys and teach'd his son to write untill 4 pm and then came home in the evening.

Freiday, 14th. At noon Went to Jno McDearmons and had 6 Yds stript Cotton warped for 2 Veastcoats and two handkerchiefs all prepared at my own expence.

Wednesday, 19th. At noon went to snow creek and the boys and dined at the spring on Barbaque and fish. At 5 pm I went to Mrs Battaile and teac'd until ½ an hour past 7.

Wednesday 26th. At 5 pm I went to Mr Becks and had a short Coat cut out of cotton cloth wove Jeans. I bought the cotton and paid for spinning it at the rate of 2/6 per lb. and one shilling per Yd. for weaving.

Sunday, July 7th. This morning I rode to Mansfield and breackfast with Mr Reid and stayed and dined with him and in the afternoon he and I rode to see the Rowgallies that was building where we met with Mr Anderson and Jacob Whitely and went to Town with them to Whitelys where we Joyned in Compy with Mr Wright and one Mr Bruce from King George. about 11 pm we brock up and every one went to his own home as I did.

Wednesday, 10th. At 6 pm went to Mrs Battaile's and teach'd untill sunset and then return'd home and soon after hea[r]d a great many guns fired towards Toun. about 12 pm the Colo Despatched Anthy Frazer there to see what was the cause of [it] who returned, and informed him that there was great rejoicings in Toun on Acct of the Congress having declared the 13 United Colonys of North America Independent of the Crown of great Britain.

Thursday, 25th. I imployed this morng and forenoon getting Lead off Snowcreek house.[1]

[1] Probably for military uses.

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Primitive Love and Love-Stories. By HENRY T. FINCK. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1899. Pp. xvii, 851.)

THE present volume may be regarded as a sequel to the author's earlier work, *Romantic Love and Personal Beauty.* The central thesis of this earlier production was that human love, far from being "always the same," as the poets and even the psychologists have commonly regarded it, has been subject to the laws of development and change, and that romantic love, which differs from conjugal affection, is an essentially modern experience, of which no trace can be found among primitive peoples, or even among the Greeks and Romans. This position was attacked by many of his critics, and it is in defense of it that Mr. Finck has written *Primitive Love and Love-Stories,* which is an exhaustive treatment of the whole question at issue. It embodies the results of a study of a large body of primitive and classical literature, and of the leading works on ethnology which throw light upon the subject. The book itself is a valuable contribution to the special subject with which it deals.

The first three hundred and fifty pages of the work are devoted mainly to an analysis of romantic love, and to a direct exposition and defense of the author's theory. The remainder is chiefly occupied with an account of the customs and sentiments attending love and marriage among different races, as revealed in their literature. A closing chapter is devoted to "Utility and Future of Love," and excellent indexes are added. A bibliography and index of authors is given, separate from the index of subjects.

Mr. Finck prepares the way for an acceptance of his theory by showing how other sentiments besides that of love have been transformed in the course of their development. He appeals to the well-known fact that not only do savages the world over stand in mortal terror of certain wild and romantic aspects of nature, which often arouse the profoundest emotions of delight in educated moderns, but the Greeks and Romans also shared the same feeling of dislike and dread, as Humboldt, Friedlaender, and Rhode have shown. He also discusses the change in religious ideas and emotions, which in primitive religions have been as crude and coarse as were the beginnings of the sentiment of love. For other illustrations of the transformation of ideas and their attendant emotions certain moral notions are chosen—murder, polygamy, incest, chastity, etc., conceptions which have manifestly changed so radically in the moral evolution of the race that they have in some instances been completely inverted.

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The author then proceeds to offer a psychological analysis of love, and finds fourteen distinct ingredients, seven of which are egoistic and seven altruistic. The latter are sympathy, affection, gallantry, self-sacrifice, adoration, purity and admiration of personal beauty. Each of the fourteen elements receives a detailed treatment, and its presence or absence among primitive peoples is illustrated from ethnological data. While the egoistic ingredients of love have changed, it is in the emergence of the leading altruistic ingredients, such as sympathy, gallantry, and self-sacrifice, that romantic love, as it exists among the most highly developed moderns, differs from anything found among primitive peoples, or even the classical nations of antiquity. One cannot refrain from wondering, much as in the case of Kant's categories, how it happens that there are just fourteen of these ingredients, that there is this perfect balance in the two groups, and whether a more searching analysis might not show that there are other essential elements, or that some of those given are reducible to still more elementary forms.

The student who has endeavored to trace the historical evolution of moral sentiments will find no *a priori* difficulty in the general features of Mr. Finck's theory. He will rather be inclined to view it with favor. For modern historical and anthropological studies have ruthlessly destroyed the sentimentality of the Rousseau type, which looked upon the "noble savage" as the embodiment of all the elemental virtues of human nature. The more the light of actual knowledge has been turned upon his life the more clearly has it been seen that Hobbes's terms more truthfully characterize it,—"solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." The book may well be recommended to those who still accept intuitionalism in morals. It should prove a specific in all except those hopeless cases in which the facts are made to fit a cherished theory.

Mr. Finck's general position is, I think, well sustained. As against the platitudes which have declared that "love is always the same," it seems abundantly vindicated. Love could always be "the same" only if human nature were so. And, despite all the maxims, human nature has not always been the same. It is rather a thing of growth and change, capable of assuming radically different forms in different environments. In the past it has often manifested itself in contradictory ways, developing in one place a mode of life and a set of ideals the direct antithesis of those found in another. And, as for the future, "It doth not yet appear what we shall be." The point at which the author seems to me chiefly to err is in expounding his theory somewhat too summarily,—in not giving his statement of it sufficient elasticity to fit all the complex facts of history and of human experience. If his view is correct there surely must have been a beginning of the higher, the romantic, form of love. It did not spring up suddenly as a new element in life, but was closely linked to what went before. It seems unnatural that there should have been absolutely no manifestation of it prior to the dawn of the modern era. Is it not far more reasonable to suppose that for its beginnings, imperfect and crude as they may have been, one must look to the later classical

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world, or even to the more highly developed among still more primitive peoples? Occasionally, too, there seems to be a want of imagination, and a consequent failure to allow for the contradictions and anomalies which appear in the character of the same individual. Thus he thinks it impossible that Odysseus, who behaved so cruelly to women, could truthfully be represented as wiping away a tear when he sees that he is recognized by his faithful dog Argos. Is it not, on the contrary, often the fact that men capable, on occasion, of extreme cruelty, have displayed great fondness for a favorite animal? It should be added, however, that the case of Odysseus is not a significant illustration for either the one view or the other. His emotional experience is dependent upon the total situation in which he finds himself, and the recognition by his old dog is merely the occasion for the overflow of feelings already highly charged with emotion.

WALTER GOODNOW EVERETT.

The Races of Man. An Outline of Anthropology and Ethnography. By J. DENIKER. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1900. Pp. xxiii, 611.)

THIS compact little volume by the librarian of the Museum of Natural History at Paris is by all odds the best compendium of these sciences extant in English. It is far more complete and reliable than Brinton's *Races and Peoples;* more thoroughly digested and scientific than the recently published erudite volumes by Keane; and less narrowly Gallic in its sources of information than De Quatrefages in his *Human Species.* In this latter respect, as well as in its comprehensive scope, it most nearly approaches the type of Peschel's *Races of Man;* which for a quarter-century has been a standard classic. The principal defect, if it be one indeed, is that the learned author has sought to cram too many facts and too much detail of classification within the compass of a single small volume. The result may, not improbably, be to produce a blurred and confusing effect upon the mind of the undergraduate student or the general reader. Viewed as a defect from this standpoint, however, such a wealth of detailed knowledge renders the book for the specialist a veritable mine of information, suitable for comparative study and further elaboration.

The book naturally divides itself into three distinct parts. The first of these in three chapters is concerned with physical anthropology, including the relation of man to the anthropoid apes. In this domain our author in virtue of his own special investigations is at his best. We note with surprise, however, the absence of any reference to such standard authorities as Huxley, Hartmann or Darwin. Awkwardness of expression also results in many places from failure to adopt our English distinction between the cranial and the cephalic index. As would be naturally expected from the author's recent detailed researches upon the distribution of the cephalic index in Europe, especial stress is laid upon the im-

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portance of the head-form as a criterion of racial descent. It is refreshing to have so clear an expression of opinion upon this point, in view of the insular and sceptical attitude assumed by certain of our American scientists. In one matter alone do we take issue flatly with his data and his conclusions; namely in his optimistic views (p. 118) concerning the possibility of acclimatization of the European in the tropics. As we have elsewhere pointed out, this view is entirely out of joint with the expressed opinion of nearly all scientific authority.

The second portion of the book, dealing with psychic and sociological phenomena, constitutes perhaps the least satisfactory portion. It is obviously an impossible task to treat of such topics in a philosophical way within the limits of three chapters. The chapter upon language, for example, failing to point to the parallel between the child-mind and the ideation of the savage, is hopelessly inadequate. The absence of any use of Romanes's work in this field is indicative of this defect. The author revives our interest again, however, in the concluding seven chapters, devoted to ethnography. Each of the continental groups of man is described in a masterly way, with a wealth of bibliographical knowledge which is most commendable. Our author seems to be acquainted with practically all of the best authorities, and that too at first hand. Only one section of this part of the work seems to us to be seriously at fault. We refer to his treatment and complicated classification of the population of Europe. Space forbids that we should enter upon criticism of his ten-fold division into European "races" in place of the traditional three; especially since we have already done so in detail in our own work upon the *Races of Europe*. The weight of authority still persists in regarding his "races" rather as "types"; and recent publication of data upon the subject has confirmed this objection to his scheme.

One of the great merits of this excellent book consists in its wealth of detailed citation of authorities. This renders it all the more lamentable that the bibliographical work should be so villainously out of form. There is scarcely a part, wherein some careless slip of spelling, accent or punctuation does not occur. One might indeed excuse the misspeling of proper names such as Gönner (p. 74), Euscalduna (p. 348), Braemer (p. 335), Erismann (p. 31) or Regàlia (p. 77), or even the woful miscapitalization of German texts; but the persistent neglect of accent in such common French words as *Mémoire* (pp. 29, 34 and 42 for example) is inexcusable in a work of this kind, from which copied citations are certain to be made. Only a few slips of a more serious order occur, such as the omission of "per cent." (p. 56), the mistranslation of *broad* into our English word *large* (p. 71) and Niederle 1897, which should be 1896 (p. 344).

The book is well illustrated from refreshingly original photographs; and as we have already said, despite its defects, many of which may be eliminated in its certain future editions, is a notable contribution to science.

William Z. Ripley.

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Religion of Israel to the Exile. By KARL BUDDE, D.D., Professor of Theology in Strassburg. (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1899. Pp. xix, 228.)

IN 1892 a committee was organized for the purpose of arranging courses of popular lectures on religious history, to be styled "American Lectures on the History of Religions." Series have been given on Buddhism (by Rhys Davids), on the religions of primitive peoples (by Brinton), and on Jewish religious life after the exile (by Cheyne); the fourth series is published in the present volume. The Israelitish religious history naturally divides itself into three periods: the pre-Mosaic, or pre-Yahwistic, or nomadic, about which little or nothing is known, the stories of the patriarchs in Genesis being a legendary reflection of later times; the first formative and creative period, in which the sole worship of Yahweh was established; and the period of strict ecclesiastical organization. It is the second period, extending from the thirteenth century B. C. to the sixth, that Professor Budde here describes.

The first question he considers is the origin of the Israelitish worship of Yahweh. The Pentateuch narrative is compiled from three documents: the Yahwistic (the earliest, known as J), the Elohistic (E), and the late Priestly (P). In E (Ex. iii. 13f.) and P (Ex. vi. 2ff.) it is said that the name Yahweh was revealed for the first time to Moses, while J (Gen. iv. 26 *al.*) assumes that it was known from the earliest times, long before the period of the patriarchs. What is the meaning of this discrepancy? Dr. Budde, in agreement with a large number of scholars, explains it as follows: the cult of Yahweh was practised by the Midianites or Kenites, from whom it was taken by Moses and introduced into Israel; a Kenite colony established itself in the south of Canaan, the territory of Judah, and the Kenite tradition, embodied in J (which was composed in that region), represents the worship of Yahweh as primeval, since the Kenites knew no other deity; on the other hand, E (followed by P) embodies the Ephraimite tradition, which was conscious of having received Yahweh from an outside source. Dr. Budde further holds that the story in Ex. xviii. (in which the Midianite priest Jethro takes the leading part in a national sacrifice to Yahweh) really describes a solemn covenant by which Israel adopted Yahweh as its god, and this, he says, is the oldest known example of such adoption, by a people, of a foreign deity. Such a procedure does not seem to me probable; I should rather suppose that the Yahweh cult came to Israel through a slow process of social intercourse; the episode is, however, obscure, and a definitive judgment is hardly possible. It is probable that the Israelites took the Yahweh cult from Midian; how Midian got it, and what is the meaning of the name Yahweh, we do not know.

This preliminary question is of less interest than the history of Israel's religious career in Canaan. How the Hebrew nomads, entering agricultural Canaan, gradually adopted the social and religious customs of its more cultivated people, and how the Yahweh religion maintained it-

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self against the attractions of the local Baals and of splendid foreign cults, growing out of its original crudeness into a substantially monotheistic faith with a high moral standard—all this is clearly and forcibly told by our author, who handles his vast mass of materials with great skill. Of necessity much that he says is common property, the generally received outcome of recent criticism. He has, however, fresh points of view, as, for example, in his treatment of Manasseh's introduction of the Assyrian astral worship. This worship, he observes, came in as the fashion of the day (imitation of the cult of the suzerain power), but the very fact that the King assigned a place in Yahweh's temple to sun, moon and stars shows that these were looked on as vassals of the god of Israel, to whom, therefore, Manasseh was not untrue. And immediately on Manasseh followed the Deuteronomic law (Dt. xii.–xxvi.) which is bitter against foreign customs. Dr. Budde calls attention, on the other hand, to the ease with which the people slid into foreign ways of worship—witness the naïve speech of the Jerusalem women to Jeremiah (Jer. xliv. 15ff.). He thinks, also, that some of the stories in Gen. i.–xi. were adopted at this time from the Assyrians—a view less popular now than formerly, many scholars holding that the Genesis myths came to Israel through the Canaanites from the Babylonians. Dr. Budde's work may be commended as eminently trustworthy and interesting.

C. H. Toy.

Alexander the Great; The Merging of East and West in Universal History. By Benjamin Ide Wheeler, President of the University of California. ["Heroes of the Nations" Series.] (New York and London: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1900. Pp. xv, 520.)

The greater part of this book is already known to many in the twelve copiously and strikingly illustrated articles on Alexander the Great which appeared in the *Century Magazine*, Vols. LVII. and LVIII., November 1898 to October 1899 inclusive. The last nine of these articles reappear in book form with text substantially unchanged, pp. 227–501. To the first three extensive additions have been made, and some slight changes in the text which is common to magazine and book. Chapters V.–VIII. (pp. 81–148), entitled in order "The Old Greece, 336 B. C."; "Old Greece—Its Political Organizations, 336 B. C.;" "The Political Ideas of the Fourth Century, 404–338 B. C.;" are almost entirely new. Pp. 35–63, on the education of Alexander, are a welcome expansion of what occupies little more than a single page of the magazine. Perhaps a dozen pages of new material have also been inserted here and there in the first and third papers of the magazine, supplementing the information first given about the Macedonian and Persian peoples, their countries, political and religious principles. None of this new matter reads like addenda to the original articles, but as though it had been once excised from the work to adapt it better for popular presentation in the pages of a monthly magazine. It is generally such material as the scholar and the historian,

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rather than the general reader, will welcome. In the slight changes of text common to book and magazine which have been made necessary by these expansions and additions, several flippancies of expression, which originally offended the more judicious reader, have been eliminated. Alexander, for instance, in rebuking Aristotle for publishing the "acroamatic doctrines," no longer figures as "one of the earliest opponents of university extension." The book would have gained in dignity if this eliminating process had been carried beyond the original first three magazine articles.

In its illustrations the book gains decidedly upon the magazine, though its gain is chiefly in its loss. It loses the flamboyant and utterly unhistorical full-page illustrations by Castaigne and Loeb, which were such a feature of the magazine articles, which doubtless caught the eye of the "groundlings," but which illustrated anything and everything except Alexander's career. The invaluable illustrations from coins and portrait statuary generally remain in the book. We miss unwillingly the Boston head of Alexander, found at Ptolemais, and even the so-called "Dying Alexander" of the Uffizi, but more than either the Etruscan statuette of the Tyrian Hercules, or the bronze statuette of Alexander in armor, with the Lysippus portrait touch. We miss also the drawings by Harry Fenn (can one ever forget the view of Budrum from the rock tomb?), and cannot reconcile ourselves to accepting in their place the unauthenticated and really useless drawings of the Acropolis of Sardis (p. 196), the scene on the coast of Asia Minor (p. 242), and the Gygean Lake (p. 246), which are evidently meant to vary the monotony of busts and coins. The maps of the book are generally better than those of the magazine, and for two new ones, "The Persian Empire about 500 B. C., and the Empire of Alexander the Great" (p. 192) and "Alexander's Crossing of the Hydaspes and Battle with Porus" (p. 440), we cannot be too grateful. We would, however, gladly exchange Thorwaldsen's "Triumph of Alexander" (p. 180), which is well enough as a paginal head-piece in the *Century Magazine*, but worthless as historical illustration, for the meanest Macedonian coin. Perhaps, however, publishers' amenities lie back of the singular choices and variations from the *Century's* wealth of illustrative and ornamental material. Nor must the book be denied its right to ornament pure and simple, regardless of illustrative accuracy.

The book is the best popular history of Alexander extant. It is the best kind of a popular history, written by a Greek scholar of minute and expert detailed knowledge, who has at the same time a broad and sound historical philosophy. It is written from within outwards,—centrifugally, after mastery of the original and primary, as well as of secondary and modern sources. In general its tendency is rather too romantic. It gives too much weight in many cases to the imaginative traditions about Alexander which were incorporated in the work of Kleitarchos, and which were passed on by Diodorus, Curtius Rufus, and Plutarch, when they are not substantiated and even when they are contradicted by the

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testimonies of Kallisthenes, Eumenes, Chares, Nearchus, Aristobulos or Ptolemy Lagus. Occasionally, too, the rhetoric of Arrian is not taken with the proper grains of salt. But perhaps this tendency was natural and even inevitable in preparing a history of this scope and purpose. Barring the flippant touches here and there, already alluded to, the book is written with power and charm, and will help to dislodge from the popular mind many ideas of Alexander and of his career which have been fastened there by Rollin's *History* and Plutarch's *Lives*, even if it is not as corrective along this line as the severest historical critic might wish. In the main issue it is wholesomely corrective, inasmuch as it teaches that Alexander's work was not destructive, nor his career that of a mere mad conqueror. As a great sower he went forth over all the world to sow, but the soil of the world had first to be prepared for the sowing.

In another respect President Wheeler's work is most helpful and instructive. It keeps before the reader the modern political conditions, the modern geography, commerce, routes of travel, social states, and local or national ambitions which tax the statesmanship of our day in administering the incoherent fragments of what was once the world-empire of Alexander. Had Alexander penetrated further into India, and into China, and performed there too his work of sower, European civilization might not at this moment be confronted with so ghastly a problem.

Caesar's Conquest of Gaul. By T. Rice Holmes. (London and New York: The Macmillan Co. 1899. Pp. xliv, 846.)

"It is to be wished rather than hoped that the appalling mass of printed matter which, for four centuries, has been accumulating around the Commentaries, may not be swelled in the future by mere verbiage' (pp. xvii. f.). An author who thus writes in the preface to a volume of nearly nine hundred large octavo pages devoted to the one hundred and ninety-three small Teubner pages of "the unpretending little book which Caesar wrote two thousand years ago in the scanty leisure of a busy life," must certainly be unconscious of the irony of his situation. But the book is fascinating, in spite of its undeniable verbiage and quite unnecessary bulk. And when the reader once becomes conscious of the magnitude of the task which the author has undertaken, and of the long years of patient, exhaustive labor which the performance of the task has cost, he will not cavil at discursiveness here and there, especially as the style is always agreeable, nor at what often seems superfluity of theme.

The design of the book is to give an annotated English narrative of Caesar's conquest of Gaul, which shall be not only useful to teachers and interesting to general readers, but also worthy of the notice of scholars and students of the art of war. This might well have been done in pp. 1–162, the actual narrative, with the addition of pp. 607–807, the running commentary, the latter judiciously enriched with some of the critical, ethnological, geographical, political, historical and military material which now bulks out into pp. 165–606. We should then have

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had a book of about half the size of this, likely to win more readers and do far more good, even though less of a thesaurus.

For that is what Mr. Holmes's book now is, a thesaurus of all that has been written, good, bad and indifferent, on Gaul and its conquest by Caesar. It serves the student of Caesar's Gallic War much as Frazer's *Pausanias* serves the student of that author. Not only are the monumental editions and epoch-making treatises called forth by the *Commentaries* duly named, described, and conscientiously utilized, with excellent independence of judgment; but obscure articles hidden away among the transactions of various archaeological societies, numberless monographs, pamphlets and even medieval chronicles have been diligently hunted down and collated. The "bibliographical note" which forms part of the introductory matter (pp. xxv.–xxvi.), is a bibliography of bibliographies. "For fear I might have overlooked any reference to articles in foreign periodicals, I also worked through the back numbers of all the transactions of learned societies, French and German, which I could find on the shelves of the gallery which they occupy in the British Museum."

After the preface (pp. v.–xix.), which is written *con amore*, and tells the reader how the work grew to its present dimensions from the first modest projection, comes a short paper on "The Busts of Julius Caesar" (pp. xx.–xxv.); then the "Bibliographical Note"; then a controversy entitled "Mr. Stock's Edition of Caesar's Gallic War and Colonel Stoffel's Excavations" (pp. xxvi.–xxx.); and then the usual table of contents.

Part I. (pp. 1–162) consists of the narrative proper of the conquest of Gaul. It is not a translation, nor even a free paraphrase of Caesar, but a connected narrative based more or less closely on the words of Caesar. The author's exhaustive study of the topography of the various routes and sites enables him to supply, where they most aid the narrative, ample geographical and strategical details. Gaps in the terse story of Caesar are inferentially filled, and, on the other hand, those episodes which do not bear directly on the conquest of Gaul, like the inroads into Britain, are omitted. Again, not all of Caesar's movements in Gaul are fully determined, but only those sections of his devious track which can be followed with certainty. The student of Caesar and above all the lover of Caesar's Latinity, will use this "narrative" only as an accompaniment to the immortal text. The general reader, who may not know Latin, will get almost no idea of the literary features of the great *Commentaries*. At the risk of seeming ungrateful to one who has conferred a boon on all lovers of Caesar, the wish might be hazarded that Mr. Holmes had given us in Part I. a straightforward, idiomatic translation of Caesar's words, as Mr. Frazer has translated his Pausanias, and incorporated all the interesting "Fuellmaterial" in the running commentary which now constitutes Section VII. (pp. 607–823).

As a fair specimen of the liberties of omission and commission which Mr. Holmes has allowed himself with the words of Caesar, it will be sufficient to cite Caesar's account of that part of his first great battle with the Helvetii which followed the dangerous flank and rear attack of the Boii

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and Tulingi, the Helvetii returning to the charge in front (*B. G.*, I. 26), and the corresponding "narrative" of Mr. Holmes. Caesar says: "Ita ancipiti proelio diu atque acriter pugnatum est. Diutius cum sustinere nostrorum impetus non possent, alteri se, ut coeperant, in montem receperunt; alteri ad impedimenta et carros suos se contulerunt. Nam hoc toto proelio, cum ab hora septima ad vesperum pugnatum sit, aversum hostem videre nemo potuit. Ad multam noctem etiam ad impedimenta pugnatum est, propterea quod pro vallo carros obiecerant et e loco superiore in nostros venientes tela coniciebant, et nonnulli inter carros rotasque mataras ac tragulas subiciebant nostrosque vulnerabant. Diu cum esset pugnatum, impedimentis castrisque nostri potiti sunt. Ibi Orgetorigis filia atque unus e filiis captus est. Ex eo proelio circiter hominum milia CXXX superfuerunt eaque tota nocte continenter ierunt."

Corresponding to these terse words Mr. Holmes has (p. 35): "Long and fiercely the battle was fought out. In due time the cohorts of the second line relieved those of the first, advancing between the files as the latter withdrew; and again the first line relieved, in its turn, the second. Gradually the Helvetii were forced further up the hill; while the Boii and Tulingi retreated to their baggage. Standing behind the wall of waggons, they hurled down stones and darts upon the advancing Romans, and thrust at them with long pikes when they attempted to storm the laager. The struggle was prolonged far into the night. At length the legionaries burst through the barrier. Women and children who could not escape were slaughtered; and the flying remnant of the invading host disappeared in the darkness of the night. . . . What despair fell upon the baffled emigrants; how the jaded cattle were headed round again towards the north, and goaded through that night; how those who escaped the slaughter tramped after, and told the tale of the calamity; the din, the confusion, the long weariness of the retreat,—these things it is easy to imagine, but those only who have shared the rout and ruin of a beaten army can adequately realize."

The Second Part is intended more for scholars. Section I. (pp. 165–244) deals with the MSS., text, and editions of the *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, with the questions "When did Caesar write the *Commentaries on the Gallic War*, and when were they published," and with the various attacks which have been made upon the credibility of Caesar's narrative. Section II. deals with the ethnology and population of Gaul (pp. 245–327). Section III. (pp. 328–514) is "purely geographical," and consists for the most part of an elaborate geographical index. Section IV. (pp. 515–547) is entitled "Social, Political and Religious," and discusses such topics as monarchy, democracy, private property in Gaul and the Druids. Sections V. and VI. (pp. 548–562, and 563–606) contain such historical summaries and technical details of the Roman art of war as are necessary or helpful in introducing or supplementing the narrative of Caesar. Section VII., finally, is the running commentary on the narrative of Caesar (pp. 607–811), and closes with a chapter on Celtic names, and various addenda (pp. 811–825).

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In this second part the author has conscientiously given the arguments for as well as against all the conclusions adopted by him in his "narrative." He does this for his own satisfaction, for that of scholars, and of the "few general readers who are not contented with mere results, but want to know the evidence on which they are based." He has here attempted "to collect, co-ordinate, and estimate the results of the innumerable researches which have aimed at throwing light upon the problems of Gallic History." He is not a mere chronicler of opposing views and theories. He pronounces judgment, and with the air of authority which his long and thorough researches give him the right to assume. "Von Kampen is quite right, and the author of the article has thought himself into a muddle" (p. 784), is only one of many clear and positive decisions which greet the often muddled reader of controversial views. Possibly too many and too inferior views are given the dignity of a discussion. One could wish that Mr. Holmes had here applied the scorn which he so well expresses towards limitless conjectural emendations of Caesar's text (p. xviii.). But this failing shall not detract from the gratitude due for a helpful thesaurus of discussion on Caesar's *Bellum Gallicum*.

Twenty Famous Naval Battles. Salamis to Santiago. By EDWARD KIRK RAWSON, Professor United States Navy, Superintendent Naval War Records. (New York and Boston: Thomas Y. Crowell and Co. [1900]. Two vols., pp. xxx, 344, 730.)

ONE would expect to find a great sameness in twenty naval battles, but the reader of these volumes goes on from chapter to chapter with eager and increasing interest. This is partly due to the fact that, in spite of certain eccentricities of style, the author has the power of dramatic narrative, and partly to the fact that the book improves both in matter and manner as it approaches the more modern periods. But even after the higher level of excellence is reached the interest does not flag and there is no feeling that one sea-fight is after all but a repetition of another. A further reason for the sustained interest lies in the constantly changing conditions of naval warfare. The book takes us through all stages of its evolution. Salamis, Actium and Lepanto illustrate the first era, that of oars. The Armada marks the transition to the second era, the era of warfare under sail. We see the Spaniards with characteristic indecision compromising between the old and the new and perhaps, too, hampered by their traditions as a power partly Mediterranean, partly oceanic, hesitating in this as in all things to leave the Middle Ages behind them. While they put galleys and the famous Neapolitan galleasses amongst the more modern galleons, the English, having thoroughly broken with the past, sent out a homogeneous sailing fleet, relegating their only galleys to humiliating river service.

After the signal and fateful victory of the northern and Teutonic navy over the school of Spain comes the fierce struggle between two Teu-

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tonic peoples with navies of the same type. England after varying fortunes emerges victorious from this ordeal only to find herself once again pitted against a Latin and Romanist navy. Trafalgar is of course the culmination of this period, the first victory of England over the combined fleets of the two Latin empires which had disputed with her one after the other the supremacy of the sea and whose navies were now, strangely enough, united in the supreme effort against her. Trafalgar was furthermore the culmination of the second era of the naval art, the culmination though not the end. As after the Spaniards the Dutch, so, in a smaller way, after the French, a Teutonic race still more closely related to the British than the Hollanders sent out their ships under a flag that John Paul Jones had already made famous on the sea, to seek and fight the ships of England. Not that we should forget, and Professor Rawson neither forgets nor permits his readers to forget, the historical perspective. Our battles of 1812 are placed among the twenty with Lepanto and Trafalgar, but there is no attempt to exaggerate their intrinsic importance. It is not only in the case of America that the author includes fights that are not fleet actions. Indeed it is an avowed object of his to relate doughty deeds upon the sea, whether done by Greek or Roman, by English or Spaniard, by Dutch, Frenchman or his own Americans. One of the great lessons of the book is the comparative uselessness of fine ships and splendid abilities without conspicuous physical and intellectual pluck.

After describing Perry's achievement on Lake Erie, the author ushers in the third and last era of naval warfare, that of steam. He describes the memorable fight between *Monitor* and *Merrimac*, where, as he suggests, two types of ironclads prophesied to the world what the ingenious foes might accomplish when reunited under the olden flag. The duel between the *Kearsarge* and *Alabama* and Farragut's brilliant achievement in Mobile Bay complete the actions chosen from our Civil War. The scene now shifts to the Adriatic and we see the Italians in their fine fleet succumbing to the Austrians, another victory, it is perhaps fair to say, of Teuton over Latin. In Tegetthoff the author is as ready to see great qualities as in Perry or Farragut, and with similar impartiality his next chapter celebrates the valor of Chilians and Peruvians. The last two chapters contain vivid accounts of Manila Bay and Santiago.

The *Twenty Famous Battles* thus ranges over a period of twenty-four centuries. Professor Rawson does not claim to offer considerable additions to the historian's knowledge. He has written a most interesting book, but a book that is intended for a wide class of readers and not, except possibly in the American chapters, for the special student of any period of naval history. He aims simply to tell the story of these seafights accurately and vividly, but chiefly from sources generally known, and to impress upon the reader certain fundamental and eternal laws of strategy and tactics, holding up constantly before him the qualities without which no sailor can deserve to win his battles. The author has the facilities of his position for examining governmental naval records, so

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that his chapters relating to American history doubtless contain valuable hints for the special investigator. It is perhaps pardonable to express here the hope that the American sailor may never fail to illustrate the high ideals which speak in Professor Rawson's pages.

W. F. TILTON.

A Manual of Church History. By ALBERT HENRY NEWMAN, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Church History in McMaster University. Vol. I. Ancient and Mediaeval Church History, to A.D. 1517. (Philadelphia: The American Baptist Publication Society. 1900. Pp. xiii, 639.)

THE author here presents in text-book form the results of his twenty years' experience as a student and teacher of ecclesiastical history. His work is thus arranged: an Introduction discusses the nature, method, and divisions of church history, with a history of the discipline. The Graeco-Roman civilization and Judaism are treated as preparatory to Christianity. Period I. (to about 100 A.D.) covers the life of Jesus, the work of the apostles, and the constitution of the apostolic churches; Period II. (to 312 A.D.), the relation of Christianity to the Roman government, the doctrinal development, and the early Christian literature; Period III. (to about 800 A.D.), church and state, theological controversies in the age of the great councils, the growth of the papacy, and various aspects of the Christian world and the Church in the eighth century; Period IV. (to 1517 A.D.) includes a miscellaneous chapter, entitled "Some Aspects of Mediaeval Civilization" (*e. g.*, the Holy Roman Empire, canon law, monasticism, the crusades, the inquisition, universities, scholasticism, and the Renaissance), and chapters on the papacy and various reformatory movements. This, it will be observed, is the familiar, conventional division of the field of church history, which it is so hard for us to get away from. We go on giving to civil rulers, especially to Constantine and Charlemagne, an ecclesiastical significance which they do not deserve, and we fail to understand that the only proper division of the history is into primitive, Catholic and Protestant Christianity.

The merits of Professor Newman's book are that it is clearly written, compact, comprehensive, and well adapted for use in the class-room. It contains extensive bibliographies, from which however one misses here and there an important title, and it is well indexed. The sections which treat of medieval theology, sects and parties, are among the best in the book, yet their arrangement is sometimes poor and the treatment fragmentary. Why are the Taborites (p. 581), the Bohemian Brethren (p. 593), the Hussite movement (p. 607), and the Brethren of the Common Life (p. 617) put in that order, and with other sections sprinkled in between them? And why must we read about the Lollards (p. 589) before we have made the acquaintance of Wyclif (p. 600)? More than once our author lays himself open to the criticism recently passed upon many writers of general history, viz. that they give prominence to the ex-

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ceptional and picturesque, at the expense of that normal line of progress, which after all constitutes the most important part of history.

Aside from the defects already alluded to, it should be noted that the book before us contains no maps or chronological tables; also that the treatment of church organization, government, discipline and worship is regrettably meagre. The proof-reading might have been more carefully done, and there are occasional slips of a more serious kind, in statements of fact. Yet on the whole Dr. Newman's *Manual* will be welcomed in many institutions where text-books are employed, and it is sure to give better satisfaction than most books of a similar character.

J. WINTHROP PLATNER.

A History of Scotland from the Roman Occupation. By ANDREW LANG. Vol. I. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co. 1900. Pp. xxvi, 509.)

DR. LIEBERMANN has lately been complaining of the tendency of English students of history to produce readable essays rather than to devote themselves to laying the dry foundations upon which a future master may build. In this connection Professor Seeley's denunciation of "mere literature" is remembered. Literature is what Mr. Lang has accustomed us to expect from him, but he now presents himself as a serious and even ambitious writer of history. In this capacity, then, and in no other, must he be judged.

A history of Scotland, at the present stage of historical study in that country, must be one of two things. Either it must be the fruit of a scholar's prolonged and painful study of original sources, or else the discerning and compact restatement of results obtained by specialists working in various parts of the general field. In the first of these classes Mr. Lang's work cannot be included, in the second it probably will not occupy a distinguished place.

The present volume—a second is promised—comprises the period from the Roman occupation to the middle of the sixteenth century. The field is wide, but perhaps less so than would at first appear. The dynastic history of Scotland may be said to have begun with the consolidation of the Celtic—or non-Teutonic, for this point is in dispute—peoples of North Britain under Kenneth MacAlpine (844–860). But the national history of the Scots can scarcely be regarded as older than the battle of Carham (1018), a victorious defeat of the Anglo-Saxons, by which the Northumbrian kings lost the province of Lothian and the Scottish dynasty was swept into the current of Teutonic development. In the succeeding century the marriages of Malcolm Canmore with St. Margaret—a princess of the line of Cerdic and Alfred—and of David I. with that Matilda who, as heiress of Earl Waltheof, brought a dower of claims to an English earldom, definitely mark the triumphs of Teuton over Celt between Tweed and Forth. Thus a Celtic dynasty sprung from an ancestor half Scot half Pict—and so, perhaps, something more

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than Celt—reaching southward to add the plains of Lothian to its dominion is, in the course of three generations, conquered in a silent, bloodless struggle which is completed under St. Margaret, by the assimilation of the Scottish Church to Rome. Henceforth the Scottish kingdom will grow north and south from Lothian, striving on the one hand with centripetal England, on the other with centrifugal Pictland.

A new factor is added, in the twelfth century, to the problem of national development. Norman adventurers—the terms are almost convertible—balked in their hope of feudal independence by the vigorous statecraft of the Conqueror and his sons, passed the Border, bringing Norman feudalism into infant Scotland. These Normans and their political ideals found a ready welcome at the hands of David I. and Scotland presently became as feudal as the France of Philip I.

Meanwhile the English government was consolidated and the attempt of Scotland to grow southward at the expense of England failed. But to the north and west Celts and Scandinavians had eventually to give way before the feudal monarchy of the Lowlands.

On a much smaller scale, though without the stimulus of a local throne, much the same process was going on in the marches of Wales where, on terms of high feudal independence, Norman barons were allowed to hold what they could wrest from the hostile Welsh. Regarded from this point of view the history of Scotland up to the death of the Maid of Norway appears rather as a series of unrestrained Norman aggressions resulting in a loose complex of fiefs than, in any true sense, a national history; and this point of view was not unknown to the thirteenth century, for John Hastings, formulating his claim to the Scottish throne—or rather to a share of it—denied that the land was a kingdom, comparing it rather to the great franchises of the Welsh and Scottish Borders.

The War of Independence, of course, evoked a Scottish national consciousness. But the nation which realized itself under so great tribulations was cast in a feudal mould, a community in which the notion of contract as the principle of national cohesion was still strong.

From this point of view accordingly the drama—say rather the tragedy—of the growth of the Scottish nation will be criticized in a manner differing materially from that followed by Mr. Lang. Care will be taken to guard against too early an introduction of the notions of patriotism on the one hand and treachery on the other. The turbulent barons who rise against their king are not always fighting for "one national idea, Independence" (p. 269); nor when, like Douglas (pp. 263, 364), they desert him, is the idea of a dissolution of contract wholly absent.

So much, then, for the point of view. Mr. Lang's story is painstaking but somewhat languid; he needs a battle to rouse him. His accounts of the Battle of the Standard, of Bannockburn and of Flodden Field are clear and spirited, but they shine by contrast with the listless narrative in which they are set.

The constitutional history of Scotland remains to be written. To the achievement of this desirable end Mr. Lang's work is in no sense a

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contribution. His constitutional history is literary—not to say journalistic. He has relied on the works of Robertson, Skene and Innes, drawing freely, for analogies—which he sometimes regards as proof—upon the writings of Bishop Stubbs and Professor Maitland. These authorities, unfortunately, he has not always read with care. He is capable, for example, of likening Celtic tribal land held in common ownership to the Anglo-Saxon *folcland* of Kemble's dreams (p. 82), although Vinogradoff's teaching has reached him through Maitland (p. 86). Again he writes of peers of the realm in the eleventh century (p. 94) and of "the important statute *de tallagio non concedendo*" (p. 185). On the intricate question of boroughs (p. 145 and App. D.) an amateur is less to be blamed for going wrong, but if Mr. Lang had consulted Professor Maitland's *Township and Borough* he would have seen that the views advanced in *Domesday Book and Beyond* have not passed unquestioned. An understanding of the nature of tallage would have resolved the difficulty raised (p. 147) by the burghal contribution to the ransom of William the Lion. This lack of training is further betrayed in the application of the title of Dauphin to the heir of Philip Augustus (p. 119), and in the ingenuous belief implied on page 253 that the Lex Salica provides that women shall not succeed to the crown of France.

A few misprints have also been remarked. *Henry II.* for *Henry I.* (p. 128), *Carlaverock* for *Caerlaverock* (pp. xxi, 189), *Loraine* for *Lorraine* (p. 308).

On the whole one fails to understand why, with Mr. Hume Brown's excellent work already in the field, the present book should have been put forth.

GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY.

The County Palatine of Durham. A Study in Constitutional History. By GAILLARD THOMAS LAPSLEY, Ph.D. (New York and London: Longmans, Green and Co. 1900. Pp. xii, 380.)

THE author well calls his book A Study; each chapter is a particular study of its field. It is only as a series of studies that so much of detail as constantly appears can find justification. Investigation in detail is of course the sort of work expected in the Harvard Historical Studies, to which the subject of this review belongs. Had the work been published as a history, it would have been open, on this point, to obvious criticism, which the author's modesty and good sense have disarmed. The distinction is worth drawing and emphasizing, and Dr. Lapsley deserves thanks for observing it and so helping it on.

But this praise must itself be seasoned with criticism. Surely there is a distinction between the work of the antiquary and that of the student of constitutional history. The pursuit of details as such is not the work of the latter; and one would not have to go far to feel that the author has sometimes lost his place. The origin of the Durham palatinate in the darknesss of pre-Norman England has possibly some value in consti-

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tutional history; but to spend almost the best part of the book, the first thirty pages, in wandering about for what only the antiquary would sufficiently value when found, might tempt one to cast aside a first-rate piece of work. Five pages should have been enough.

Let us have done with criticism at once. How could the author devote these thirty pages to the Origin of the Palatinate, and, without a helpful syllable, dismiss a court of the Law Merchant, which he finds in Durham in full operation? "A court of pie-powder was held in the fairs and markets belonging to the bishop;" but that and other small courts "present no peculiar features." The author is nodding; one so learned in legal history must know that the smallest word unearthed about these courts of the merchants is worth tons of suggestions and guesses, or even of records, in regard to the origin of the Durham palatinate. Thence came (transplanted from the Continent) the body of that most potent influence in English and American life, our *lex mercatoria*. Will not Dr. Lapsley tell us something about the pie-powder courts of Durham, as well as about the Council of the North?

For another thing, we cannot but wonder why the author should stop, as he does several times, to justify his method. An author is entitled to his own method; the only justification called for is its fruits. On that justification Dr. Lapsley might safely have rested, quite as safely as by challenging the reader to consider his method. Again, the author is apt to discredit his reader's intelligence; as where, after giving (p. 234) two reasons for a certain thing, which tell their own story, he comments thus: "The first is a matter of expediency, the second a matter of sentiment."

We had noted other things for criticism, but we gladly brush them away, with all that we have said, as only the small dust in the balance. The merits of the work before us are conspicuous, its defects of the slightest in comparison. The idea of making the Durham palatinate a special study was a happy one; but for some other workers we might call it an inspiration. It was worth doing, and has been well done.

The scope of the work is comprehensive, and the plan is so well carried out that Lapsley's *Durham Palatinate* must long stand as the final work on the subject. What it contains may be briefly shown.

After the first chapter, on origins, we have a careful study on The Bishop as Lord Palatine. Here the author treats of the Bishop's regality, under powers *in imperio*, *in dominio*, and *in jurisdictione;* a not very illuminating set of titles, though the author assures us that it "has in compensation the great advantage of clearness." Under the first designation the Bishop appears as king of Durham; under the second, as feudal landlord; under the third, in relation to the law.

The second chapter treats of the less interesting subject of the Officers of the Palatinate; under which we find Officers of State and Officers of the Household fully dealt with.

A valuable chapter follows on The Assembly and the Bishop's Council, which all students of our own colonial history will read with pleasure

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and profit. We have in this connection, first, the Development of the Assembly, then the Composition and Functions of that body; following which we have a like treatment of the Council, and other matters of interest pertaining to that branch of the palatinate.

The fifth and sixth chapters are, for us, the best in the book. The fifth chapter opens indeed, like the book itself, with a vain thing, a too serious delay over the Development of the Judiciary from 635 until 1195; at which latter date, or a little before, under the reforms of Henry the Second, the subject really begins. From that time on the author easily carries the interested reader through a long category of courts, until he reaches the pie-powder tribunals—of which no more. The Transition from a Feudal to a Royal Court is well told. The sixth chapter treats of the Palatine Courts in relation to the Royal Judiciary, and leaves nothing to be desired; a surprise to a lawyer, because the author himself does not profess to be a man of law. Here will be found all the details of judicial procedure, much of it extremely technical, and all of it, so far as we have observed, accurate. It is curious, by the way, that the author missed the chance, on page 218, of remarks on foreign attachment. "It is questionable," says Dr. Lapsley, "whether the bishop could have been put to exigent or outlawed on such proceedings," proceedings in the nature of foreign attachment. Could a citizen of Massachusetts be proceeded against personally, on attachment of lands of his in New York, without service of process on him? Chapter VI. closes with some useful remarks in regard to the Council of the North and the Palatine Judiciary, a subject of which the author has since shown himself a master. Here the author accordingly deals with what theologians, in another way, call last things. He is speaking of a plea of land in the palatinate drawn in 1547 into the (royal) Council, and closes with a passage which we must quote. "This tells the whole story. In the administration of law the palatinate has become a negligible quantity. It is not destroyed or swept away; that would have been inconsistent with the genius of the English race, which is before all things conservative of appearances; but the life that was in it has gone. . . . The living organism with which we were concerned has become a heap of dry bones."

The final chapters deal with Financial, and Military and Naval, Arrangements in the Palatinate. Several appendices of considerable value follow, the last one a full bibliography.

We have read this book with genuine satisfaction. The Torrey Fund, which is responsible for the publication of it, has borne no better fruit.

MELVILLE MADISON BIGELOW.

The History of Edward the Third (1327–1377). By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co. 1900. Pp. xx, 624.)

DR. MACKINNON'S book is based on laborious and independent investigation of sources. No phase of the reign is entirely neglected, but

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he deals chiefly with military history. He excels Longman and Warburton in accuracy of statement, corrects chronological errors of various writers, and treats certain periods of Scottish history with a fulness of detail never before attempted. His account of the battle of Neville's Cross is based partly upon a source heretofore used by no English writer, and the narrative of events in Scotland for the decade after Halidon Hill deserves especial mention for its novelty. Such are the chief merits of the volume. They are due, in part, to priority in the use of Lettenhove's Froissart.

Apparently Dr. Mackinnon has not employed all available contemporary materials. Certain minor chroniclers are not cited, and no evidence exists that the author has consulted the important Calendars of Close and Patent Rolls. A specific bibliography is lacking.

The opening sentence of the preface states: "In writing this work I have limited myself to the investigation of contemporary evidence." It is a pity the assertion is so true. How much the author could have learned from recent writers is evidenced, for example, by his description of the battle of Dupplin Moor. He ascribes the victory of the English to the "courage of despair" and "the idiocy of Mar and his ill-disciplined rabble;" of the significance of English archery tactics, he has never a word to say. Again, with reference to the battle of Poitiers, he names with evident pride the authorities by whose use he has "departed considerably from the conventional descriptions of previous historians." He does not seem to know that by the "careful examination" of these same authorities Mr. Oman had already written an account of the battle better, because more critical and less dogmatic, than his own.

The favorable reception accorded Dr. Mackinnon's work on the *Union of England and Scotland* can hardly be extended in its fulness to the present publication. Apart from Scottish annals, it contains too little which is new. Much of the military history, and all the constitutional history, has been handled as well or better elsewhere; the religious and economic features of the reign are portrayed essentially along familiar lines; and the character of Edward himself, as man and sovereign, stands out but little more clearly as the result of Dr. Mackinnon's analysis.

Regarding the warriors of the time as "picturesque fighting maniacs," he abhors chivalry. This sharp contrast between the spirit of the author and one prominent manifestation of the spirit of the age apparently leads him to adopt a style of cheap sarcasm and railing mockery which too often falls below the standard of historical dignity and defaces with vulgarisms page after page of his work. The infiltration of modern humanitarian ideals and the use of the nineteenth-century interpretation of the rights of nationalities as a test for the acts of the fourteenth, detract greatly from the value of the book.

OLIVER H. RICHARDSON.

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Michel de l'Hospital. Being the Lothian Prize Essay, 1899. By C. T. ATKINSON, Fellow of Exeter College, Oxford; late Demy of Magdalen College. (London, New York and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co. 1900. Pp. viii, 200.)

THE important part taken by the great Chancellor in the exciting drama of the French political and religious struggles of the sixteenth century amply justifies the production of this little book, and might have warranted the composition of a still larger work. In the madness of the contending parties, l'Hospital perhaps above all others strove to hold a position of serene impartiality and imperturbable conviction that in the end righteousness would win the day. "Patience, patience, all will come out aright," was his frequently repeated motto. That it did not, was no fault of his sagacity, but the result of circumstances beyond his control.

Mr. Atkinson has told with care and with accuracy the story of the short but eventful period to which his activity was limited. He has added to the picture as usually drawn some traits derived from a particular study of the Chancellor's own works, which are, however, of limited scope. More that is striking has been obtained from the recently published volumes of Hector de la Ferrière devoted to the letters of Catharine de' Medici, forming part of the magnificent *Collection de Documents Inédits* issued by the French government. The result is a compact volume which will prove serviceable not less as a sketch of the course of events in the reign of Francis II. and the first years of Charles IX. than as a partial biography of l'Hospital. We rise from a careful perusal of it confirmed in the impression of the perfect honesty and integrity of the Chancellor and of the misfortune it was to France that from the very first he was engaged in a hopeless endeavor. This is much, even if Mr. Atkinson has not made any sensible addition to our stock of knowledge on this point. He well observes that "the clue to all l'Hospital's measures and to his general policy is to be found in his absolute identification of religion, justice and toleration. He was just because he was religious, he was tolerant because he was just." Yet, strange to say, neither friends nor enemies were agreed as to what l'Hospital's particular religious views were. His wife, daughter and son-in-law were all Huguenots, but he certainly was not a Huguenot, not even a crypto-Huguenot. Mr. Atkinson enthusiastically finds "ample justification in his works for the conclusion that l'Hospital was no bigoted Catholic but no Calvinist, still less an atheist—a Catholic rather than a Huguenot, if one must place him on one side or the other, but above all a sincere and devout Christian" (p. 173).

Mr. Atkinson's style is simple and unadorned. He tells the tale he has taken in hand without over-great excitement; so quietly in fact as to appear unmoved by its thrilling incidents. The language is that of every-day life and we are scarcely surprised at the use of expressions approaching contemporary slang. On page 84 we read that religion was

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the principal "plank" in the Reformers' "platform," and a few lines farther on we are informed that l'Hospital increased the number of his enemies daily "by his stern opposition to anything in the nature of a *job*."

We fear that many may be deterred from reading this excellent book by what we cannot avoid regarding as an injudicious incorporation in the text of whole clauses and frequently long sentences in foreign languages. A good stiff quotation in Latin or French even when relegated to a foot-note will startle your easy-going reader when descried from afar. What will become of his composure if he runs directly against a brace of lines in the very sentence he has entered upon and finds no room for retreat, so that he must needs grapple with their difficulties or ignominiously succumb? For example, page 100 seems written expressly for readers familiar with the old French. Out of its twenty-four lines, full ten are in that tongue, the citations being distributed in three or four sentences. In not one case would the foreign words lose force by translation into English.

HENRY M. BAIRD.

A History of the English Church during the Civil Wars and under the Commonwealth, 1640–1660. By WILLIAM A. SHAW. (London and New York: Longmans, Green and Co. 1900. Two vols., pp. xxxvi, 384, 707.)

OLD writers upon Puritan history devoted their pages to a record of the sufferings of their heroes and heroines, an account of their persecutions at home and of their battles abroad, and an apology for their opinions and beliefs. They had much to say about what was done to the Puritans and about what the Puritans themselves would do, but of what they actually accomplished little was written. Mr. Shaw's book represents a very different type of history. It is neither a record of the struggles of sect with sect nor is it an account of different forms of religious doctrine, but it is a history of what the author calls the most complete and drastic revolution which the Church of England has ever undergone, a history of the development of the Puritan ecclesiastical polity.

For the writing of the history of this ecclesiastical revolution no one was better fitted than Mr. Shaw. In 1890 he edited for the Chetham Society the *Minutes of the Manchester Presbyterian Classis*, the most perfect of surviving records of Presbyterianism under the Commonwealth, and in 1896 the *Minutes of the Bury Classis*. In the same period he also edited the proceedings of the Plundered Ministers' Committee for the Lancashire and Cheshire Record Society, and now, in several appendices, he has set down all the cases of clergymen tried, imprisoned, sequestered, ejected, nominated, or promoted to benefices by the various parliamentary committees for deprived clergymen, for plundered ministers, for scandalous ministers, for reformation of the universities, etc., recorded in the *Commons' Journals* and *Lords' Journals*. More than

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that, he has brought together from various sources and printed for the first time a mass of material relating to the constitution of the Presbyterian system, accounts of first-fruits and of tenths, and sales of bishops' lands and of deans' and chapters' lands. In short, while confining himself to publishing definitely chosen parts of such materials as are never likely to be published in Calendar form or by the Historical Manuscripts Commission, he has made accessible a body of material which, together with a future Calendar of Plundered Ministers' Records, will constitute a complete body of evidence upon the history of the ecclesiastical revolution of the seventeenth century, a body of evidence of value both to the general historian and to the parochial historian.

But the best evidence of the value of the material in these appendices is to be seen in the use which the author has made of them, with other sources, in the reconstruction of the history of the period. Since the time of Carlyle we have been inclined to exaggerate the importance of the military history of the time. The author of this book, however, does not make that mistake. Instead, he emphasizes the fact that the history of Puritanism was in the first place the history of thought, of divinity,—perhaps we may say, polemical divinity. In the Stuart period England took the second step in the nationalization of the church. Henry VIII. had cut it off from Rome. Now the people adopted it, and the offices of the church and membership in the church became elective. The question of the divine right of kings was accordingly of less importance than that of the divine right of bishops and presbyters, and the power of officers of the church a matter of less serious concern than their virtue, albeit the Puritan was duly impressed with the incompatibility of power and virtue.

But while Puritanism was first of all doctrinal, and while Puritan doctrine was logical and systematic as long as it remained merely academic as in Elizabethan Presbyterianism, or merely clerical as in Covenanting Presbyterianism, it afterwards became popular, and among the people Puritanism meant not only ecclesiastical doctrine but political theory, and popular doctrine and popular theories were not logical or systematic; they were inspired, perhaps, by hatred of Rome rather than by love of God, they were critical rather than constructive. Men drew up catalogues of sins with ease, but the conversion of England, they discovered, was a more difficult matter. Indeed, the people of England would have been content to remain in that wicked Babylon, as some called episcopacy, had not the Scots urged Presbyterianism upon them as the price of their assistance against the victorious king.

The first plan of ecclesiastical reform had been Ussher's, a plan of modified episcopacy. This provided for parochial presbyteries, rural deaneries with monthly synods, dioceses with semi-annual synods, and provinces with triennial synods. The Parliamentary plan, however, was for the government of the church by commissions appointed by Parliament as bishops had been appointed by the King, a chief commission to succeed to the archiepiscopal jurisdiction and county commissions to succeed to the episcopal. But the clergy were unwilling to be responsi-

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ble to either King or Parliament, and at the same time the Scotch complained of the slowness of the reformation of religion in England, surmising that God had some quarrel with England; so, finally, Parliament called an Assembly of Divines to sit at Westminster and settle the affairs of the Church. The Assembly plan of church government became the frame of the Church of the Commonwealth, the Directory for Public Worship supplanted the Book of Common Prayer, and the Confession of Faith superseded the Thirty-nine Articles. In place of the spiritual courts were substituted Presbyterian assemblies, a congregational eldership to meet once a week, a classis once a month, a provincial assembly twice a year and a national assembly at the summons of Parliament, constituted of two ministers and four elders from each provincial assembly, as the provincial assembly was constituted of two ministers and four elders from each classis. In fact, the state was re-organized upon an ecclesiastical basis. The presbytery took cognizance of the morals of the congregation, held investigations in regular form, and decreed punishment by suspension, and the Houses of Parliament called laymen to their bar for disturbances in churches, for holding conventicles, or for absenting themselves from their parish churches, or for preaching when not ordained.

These are a few of the points more or less familiar, which the author discusses judicially and thoroughly, so judicially and thoroughly, in fact, that there seems to us to be no other work except that of Robert Barclay with which to compare it. It marks an epoch in the development of our knowledge of the Commonwealth Church—Presbyterian it may popularly be called—as Barclay's work marked an epoch in our knowledge of the obscurer sects of the same period.

W. Dawson Johnston.

The Memoirs of the Baroness Cécile de Courtot, Lady-in-Waiting to the Princess de Lamballe. Compiled, from the Letters of the Baroness to Frau von Alvensleben, and the Diary of the Latter, by her Great-grandson Moritz von Kaisenberg. Translated from the German by Jessie Haynes. (New York: Henry Holt and Co. 1900. Pp. xiv, 298.)

The authenticity of this book stands sadly in need of proof. This is not furnished by the preface, which arouses only suspicion. The compiler asserts that in the attic of his father's house in the neighborhood of Halberstadt there stood an ancient carved oak chest and that he, delving in it one day, found not only ivory fans, potpourri boxes, ladies' poetry albums, illuminated prayer-books, costumes and fashion-plates, but quite at the bottom "chanced upon a thick packet of letters tied together with a blue ribbon and having on the outside wrapper the inscription 'Cécile's Letters. 1801 and 1802.'" These letters, seventeen in number, written by the Baroness to her German friend, Frau von Alvensleben, purport to describe French conditions and important personages in the

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years named but are hardly wide enough in scope to make a book. Fortunately our editor finds at the same moment "a red velvet book," the diary of this Frau von Alvensleben, which contains many of Cécile's oral descriptions of the Revolutionary events she witnessed. The range of contemporary information is thus happily widened, covering the years 1789–1803. This is all the authentication vouchsafed us by the compiler.

Nor does internal evidence increase our confidence. The chronology of this book is in a frightful welter, being either vague, impossible, or self-contradictory. The Baroness Cécile informs us that in July 1783, being then "just twenty," she became lady-in-waiting to the Princess de Lamballe, then living in Savoy (p. 44), that thus "a year went by," that then a letter came from Marie Antoinette asking the Princess to join her at court, which she and the Baroness immediately did. Yet Marie Antoinette's letter is dated June 12, 1783 (p. 48). Furthermore we are told on page 57 that in 1784 the two ladies had been at court "about a year."

The matter is already troublesome but it becomes far more complicated when Cécile asserts on page 256 that in July, 1783, being then "nearly seventeen," she chanced to be visiting near Brienne, that one evening wandering away from the villa into the fields she suddenly heard an infuriated bellow behind her and turning round "saw to my horror that an enormous black bull, irritated perhaps by my red parasol, was bearing down upon me with blazing eyes and lowered horns." The moment was tense but her life was saved by a "pale-faced boy," wearing the uniform of the Brienne cadets, who, running to the rescue, pierced the brute's eye with his sword and sent him "staggering blindly about the field." It is of course superfluous to remark that this pale-faced boy was none other than Napoleon Bonaparte, who, we know from other sources, was then fourteen years of age. A year later, 1784, the Baroness was once more at Brienne giving a laurel wreath to her "youthful hero" on the occasion of the annual examination of the cadets (pp. 258–259).

It is in connection with the revolutionary calendar that many of the most striking novelties of this book occur. Cécile starts on a journey from the heart of Brandenburg to Paris. Her first letter to her friend is dated Cassel, October 25, 1801. Her second (p. 158 *seq.*) is dated Strassburg, 3 Brumaire, Year X., and in it she states that she "arrived here the day before yesterday." The art of verifying dates must be lightly regarded by the maker of this book for, curiously enough, 3 Brumaire Year X., translated into English, is precisely October 25, 1801. This kind of retroactive travelling baffles the reviewer.

The dates of the sixth and seventh letters (pp. 186 and 190) transferred from the revolutionary calendar are Dec. 6, 1801 and Dec. 24, 1802, yet the context plainly implies an interval of only a few weeks. The author apparently does not fully understand the range of the Years X. and XI., for the Year XI. is evidently considered synchronous with 1802, whereas ten of the eleven letters dated that year fall within 1803

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(8th to 17th inclusive). Yet that 1802 is intended is shown by the dates on pp. 289–290, expressed in terms of the Gregorian calendar.

The chronology of the editorial notes is as dubious as that of the letters and diary. On page 140 we find the date 25 Nivôse, the editor explaining parenthetically that that was February 19, 1800, whereas our tables show that it was January 15. He is also plainly under the impression that Vendémiaire follows rather than precedes Brumaire in the French calendar (p. 139).

These unusual memoirs close in a tumultuous tangle of dates which leaves the reader in the most hopeless consternation. Cécile in a letter to her friend, dated 7 Floréal XI. (April 27, 1803), refers to a coming family event (p. 289). This event occurred, as an editorial note informs us, July 11, 1802, when a child was born to the von Alvenslebens (p. 289). On the same day Mademoiselle Cécile was married in Paris. After the wedding and after hearing of the arrival of the boy (as the contents of the letter show) she writes her German friend. The date given is 12 Messidor, the year lacking. 12 Messidor is July 1. The year could not have been 1802 for neither the marriage nor the birth of her friend's child had then taken place. Nor could it have been 1803, for we find Frau von Alvensleben recording in her diary on June 10, 1802, the news of the death of her friend Cécile on 28 Floréal (May 18).

In the presence of chronological wonders like these the attention is not arrested by minor marvels such as Cécile's assertion that as a child she used constantly to be given toys by Talleyrand "while he was still Bishop of Autun," he being an intimate family friend (p. 203). Talleyrand was made Bishop of Autun in 1789. In 1781 Cécile had been presented at court and had made her début in society (p. 44) and since 1783 she had been lady-in waiting to Princess de Lamballe. Or again this other statement (p. 197) in a letter dated December 24, 1802, that she is unable just now to have the interview she desires with Talleyrand "as he has not yet returned from Lunéville where he is drawing up the final conditions of the Peace." Now the treaty of Lunéville was concluded February 9, 1801. Furthermore it was negotiated by Joseph Bonaparte and not by Talleyrand.

It must also be admitted that it requires no little boldness to make Marie Antoinette write at length to Princess de Lamballe on August 10, 1792, of all days in her career, when, as may be safely asserted in view of our minute knowledge of the events of that day, she could do no such thing. Furthermore the character of the letter itself confirms us in our lack of confidence in its authenticity (pp. 65–66).

We must also protest against the ragged French the Queen is made responsible for in the several letters published here and ascribed to her (pp. 48, 52, 65–66, 68 and particularly 113 and 114–115). Here we have feminine nouns accompanied by both masculine and feminine verb-endings and we observe the Queen addressing her sister in the plural form at the opening of the sentence and in the singular at the close, the sentence being just eleven words in length (p. 113).

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On the whole this is one of the most feebly constructed books we remember ever to have read, the tone of reality lacking throughout. And, what in fiction is unpardonable, it is dull, with the exception of the fourteenth letter, which shows much brilliancy of imagination in its portrayal of Napoleon, whose biography must be rewritten in important particulars if the statements made here are true. We have not been accustomed to hear the First Consul speak of his youthful days at Brienne as "the only really happy ones" he ever knew.

CHARLES D. HAZEN.

Correspondance de Le Coz, Évêque Constitutionnel d'Ille-et-Vilaine. Publiée pour la Société d'Histoire Contemporaine. Par le P. ROUSSEL, de l'Oratoire. (Paris: Alphonse Picard et Fils. 1900. Pp. xiv, 430.)

THIS is the latest of a series of over twenty volumes, published by the Society during the last eight years, comprising documents relating to the French Revolution. This volume consists of 176 letters written from November, 1790, to May, 1802, preceded by a brief biography by the editor. The letters throw much light on the ecclesiastical and social conditions of the period. The relation of the constitutional clergy to the papacy is not clearly brought out, and we suspect that some letters and other documents on this subject have been omitted.

The writer, Claude Le Coz, was a member of the Assembly of 1791–1792, one of the few bishops who had taken the oath to support the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, and a leader in the constitutional church. Although lenient toward the clergy who had refused the oath, and desiring peace with them, he was distinguished for his liberal and independent ideas; defended the position of the constitutional clergy against the Pope himself, and accused Pius VI. of having provoked a religious war because the latter had excommunicated the constitutional clergy instead of trying to make peace between those who had taken and those who had refused the oath. Le Coz was a zealous partisan of Napoleon, whom he lauds to the skies, and from whom, even as First Consul, he expects every good for the Church. On account of his charities he was called the Father of the Poor.

Le Coz was born in 1740 in a village in eastern Bretagne and educated in a school of the Jesuits at Quimper, where, shortly after their expulsion in 1762, he held the position of principal until 1791. In February, 1791, he took the oath of submission to the Constitution and joined the ranks of the *assermentés*. About this time the electoral assembly of Ille-et-Vilaine deposed the bishop of Rennes on account of his refusal to take the oath, and elected Le Coz in his place. After some hesitation and a very courteous letter to the former bishop and a very respectful announcement to the Pope, he accepted and was consecrated at Paris in April. In September he was elected a deputy to the Legislative Assembly, where he made several speeches and served until the close of the session in September, 1792. During this period we

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have twenty-two letters addressed to the administrators of the department which he represented, giving a vivid and interesting account of the occurrences of that eventful year.

In 1793 Christian worship was proscribed throughout France, and in September, refusing to renounce his orders, Le Coz was imprisoned by Carrier, one of the most bitter and cruel persecutors, who was executed in December, 1794, for excessive and lawless cruelty. Le Coz spent over a year in prison, suffering many hardships and indignities which he describes in his letters to his friends. Released in December, 1794, he returned to Rennes only to find his house stripped of furniture and church ornaments, though his library of 4,000 volumes was saved. From this time begins an interesting series of fifty-six letters, to Grégoire, Bishop of Loir-et-Cher, at Blois, the leader of the constitutional clergy. These letters show an earnest, independent spirit, eager for peace with the *insermentés* and for the restoration of friendly relations with the papacy. They tell of struggles against great difficulties, suspicion, ill-feeling, desertion, hunger and poverty due to the rapid depreciation of the *assignats* and loss of property. They describe the ravages of the Chouans and give some interesting allusions to the influence of English deism and atheism on French writers.

For a long time Le Coz did not dare to go outside the city, and it was not until June, 1797, that he made his first episcopal visitation, when he beheld on every side the traces of civil war. In 1797 and again in 1801 he presided at the national church council held at Paris. His letters to Grégoire and others at this period show the desolation and difficulties of the church, the strenuous efforts he is making for peace and quiet, the terrible moral and social effects of the irreligion and lawlessness, and the need of some strong hand to subdue the disorder and lead the nation into peace.

After the council of 1801 he remained in Paris to look after the interests of the constitutional church. With the other clergy generally he resigned his position in October as a preliminary to the approaching settlement under the Concordat. He was soon after appointed Archbishop of Besançon and wrote to Cardinal Caprara for the bull of institution. He entered his see in May, 1802. Here the letters cease. In 1804 he went to Paris for the consecration of Napoleon and while there he had several audiences with the Pope, to whom he gave in his formal adherence in December.

He was one of the first to declare for Napoleon in March, 1815, but died on a visitation in May of that same year.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

An Outline of Political Growth in the Nineteenth Century. By EDMUND HAMILTON SEARS, A.M., Principal of Mary Institute, Saint Louis. (New York: The Macmillan Company. 1900. Pp. xiii, 616.)

THE result aimed at by Professor Sears in this volume is to "awaken an interest in political study and create a desire for a fuller knowledge of

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the progress of democracy." The interpretation of the word "political" as used in the title is very broad. The work "is not a mere record of political facts and constitutional changes. Indeed, it would be difficult to define a political fact. . . . Among the progressive nations all historic events have in the end a political significance; for out of them arises the whole framework of government and constitutional life. . . . Accordingly the present treatise deals with all the varied events and happenings that make up the story of a nation's life." Nevertheless the work contains much less of things which are not in the stricter sense political than this announcement would lead one to expect. At another point Professor Sears says that it is the story of "the successive triumphs of popular institutions" that he wishes to tell. His theme is, therefore, the growth of democracy. It may be remarked here that, while Professor Sears is not always in sympathy with the aims and methods of democracy in particular, in democracy in general he professes the utmost faith.

Geographically the work includes every country in the world where the author has discovered political growth—in some, it may be, only political disturbance. Every country is treated separately with completeness, but there is a grouping of nations, mainly on the basis of racial kinship. Book I. deals with continental Europe and has three divisions: Part I., "The Latin Nations"; Part II., "Southeastern Europe and Russia"; Part III., "The Teutonic Nations." Book II. treats of Great Britain and her colonies; Book III. of the United States; Book IV. of Spanish and Portuguese America; Book V. of "Unclassified Countries," including Liberia, Haiti, Santo Domingo, Japan, India and Siam.

The arrangement is faulty in some measure in that it is not the logical order of the growth of democracy. The author emphasizes national growth in the view that most writers neglect this for general movements and tendencies. The result is that international affairs, and movements wider than national, are not so clearly and systematically handled as matters purely national. There is more or less interdependence between the separate portions, but that which goes before is, as often as otherwise, dependent on that which comes after, and, though there are a limited number of cross-references, it would be a decided gain if they were more freely used. The European portion gives us a pretty clear though brief account of the development in each nation, though means and processes are often left, it seems, in unnecessary obscurity.

The part on the United States is necessary to completeness according to the design of the work, but it would not be difficult to find among the numerous brief histories of the United States a much better account.

It is hardly justifiable, even from the author's own point of view, that India should be dismissed with a treatment scarcely longer than that of San Marino or Andorra.

The author usually endeavors to be fair, but his own opinions are frequently more prominent than the unbiassed presentation of facts. For example, the followers of Mr. Bryan in the last presidential campaign are

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condemned out of the mouths of their enemies. The style of the work is sufficiently forcible, and without doubt the volume will prove interesting as well as instructive to the general reader, as the author hoped. Properly used it may be made serviceable as a text-book. It remains to be added that Professor Sears makes no claim to original investigation. He has made wide use of standard authorities and magazine articles, and has usually worked over his material with care. The book ends with a useful bibliography of twenty-three pages.

EDMUND C. BURNETT.

Napoleon's Invasion of Russia. By HEREFORD B. GEORGE, Fellow of New College, Oxford. (London: T. Fisher Unwin; New York: New Amsterdam Book Co. 1899. Pp. xvi, 451.)

THIS handsome volume, whose paper, type, maps and general get-up need no praise, is a distinct addition to the discussion of the downward course of the greatest man of modern times. Having read his authorities conscientiously, but rejecting some valuable testimony, Mr. George relies mainly on Chambray, Jomini and Clausewitz, all of whom served through the 1812 campaign, on Buturlin, the Russian official historian, and on Napoleon's correspondence. Secure of his facts, he gives us an easily understood narrative of the campaign; while, writing for an English audience, he naturally lays more stress on Napoleon's desire to "make war on England on the Vistula" than perhaps the true perspective of history warrants. "It was Napoleon's intense desire to crush England which took him to Moscow," says he. The main cause of Napoleon's antagonism to Russia seems to our author to have been its failure to lay an embargo on English goods; and with honest British spirit, when quoting bulletins or letters, he lays undue stress upon the Emperor's "mendacity." The unwilling vassalage of Prussia and the reluctant aid of Austria, as well as their secret anti-French understanding, are much dwelt upon, and the promises held out to Poland to secure its aid: yet these countries were allies on whom Napoleon had a right, from a military standpoint, to count. That Napoleon could hold together the motley host of 630,000 men with which he advanced on Russia, was due, Mr. George maintains, to his admirable corps commanders—but these men were strictly of Napoleon's creation.

The Emperor's projecting half a million men into a country so sparsely settled that it could scarce sustain an invading army of 50,000 was an experiment which earlier in life he would not have undertaken, or into which he would have infused so much more of his own individuality that he might have succeeded. But he was no longer the slim, nervously active, omnipresent man; he was corpulent, liked his ease and shunned bad weather. Except for the migratory invasions of peoples, no such force had ever yet been put into one campaign. Alexander had commanded not more than 135,000 men; Hannibal 60,000; Cæsar 80,000, and Gustavus less; while Frederick rarely saw 50,000 men in one body

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under his colors. When we consider the small army that a one-track railroad, apart from other means, is thought to be able to supply over a distance of fifty miles, the task in trackless Russia may be partly gauged. Charles XII.'s failure could not deter such a man as Napoleon; nor was the campaign too bold for him at his best. It had in fact to be undertaken if he would not lose his prestige.

The Emperor's original idea was to make two campaigns unless peace came sooner—the first year's to Smolensk, the next to Moscow and St. Petersburg. But he was insensibly led on to crowd more into 1812 than could possibly be accomplished if luck should run counter to him. When he reached Smolensk, and there, by his own default, failed to beat the Russians in such a fashion as to throw them off their line of retreat and to cripple their army, the campaign was practically lost; and to continue the march to Moscow was unnecessarily to invite disaster. The diluted victory at Smolensk was the turning-point; even the Napoleon of 1805 could not then have saved the campaign; it was the poker-player's instinct which carried him beyond.

When Kutusov sustained at Borodino the bloodiest defeat of modern days, Napoleon was still worse off, for the French were losing their preponderance with every league; and when, in hopeless anticipation that the Czar would come to terms, Napoleon delayed a month longer in Moscow than was safe, it was his lost ability to gauge facts, his disbelief in failure, bred of the stupendous successes of the past, which lay at the root of his indecisiveness. With the same old mental grasp, he was in character no longer the same man.

All this Mr. George sets down so clearly as to give us a crisp view of the advance, the battles and the horrible retreat. His style is easy and the maps suffice for the general reader. But he is distinctly hypercritical. To the true Briton Napoleon remains a real evil, not a mere historical character, to be calmly weighed in the balance, and he likes not to allow him overmuch credit. As a matter of fact, Napoleon was the most useful man of the century just closing. Had it not been that, in hostility to his arch-opponents, the monarchs of Europe, Napoleon spread abroad some measure of freedom, it is doubtful whether there would be any instinct of liberty on the Continent to-day. Someone had to mold into form the chaotic ideas of the new departure made by the French Revolution, and it may be doubted whether anyone could have done so better than Napoleon.

The Russian Campaign, in conception, was far from being as wild a scheme as Mr. George considers it. Should an Oriental, unfamiliar with the momentous twenty years from 1796 to 1815, read this book, he might almost draw the conclusion that Napoleon was a man of less than common power, sense and judgment, instead of being in our days what Cæsar was to antiquity. In this the work lacks a strength it would otherwise possess; but in all else it can be commended.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

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The Puritan Republic of the Massachusetts Bay in New England. By DANIEL WAIT HOWE. (Indianapolis: The Bowen-Merrill Company. 1899. Pp. xxxviii, 422.)

A CURIOUS and interesting feature of this book is that it comes from the Middle West. Manufactured in Brooklyn, New York, it appears or is published at Indianapolis. The author treats of "some of the features of the Massachusetts Puritan Commonwealth that I thought would be most interesting to the people of to-day, and especially to those who are descendants of the early Puritans" (p. x.). He is not satisfied with the tendencies and drift of modern historians, whom he arraigns in this wise: "the unsparing censure of modern writers, notably of some in Massachusetts, whose cardinal idea seems to be that we magnify ourselves in proportion as we belittle our ancestors. In the writings of this new school the history of the Puritan age in Massachusetts is delineated as a dreary waste" (p. 393). In other connections he refers more directly to the offenders, Mr. John Fiske, Mr. Charles Francis Adams and others, whose work has established itself. Such criticism, if it would attain a historic basis, should be sustained by definite rebuttal of the offending matter; which does not appear. At many points we have the altercation of debate, with hardly any digesting of proofs.

In his incomplete attempt to define theocratic principles and methods (pp. 194–199), as well as in other developments of his theme, the author renders himself liable to Mr. Burke's famous saying, concerning the limitations of legal education and practice. For example, he says if "the Massachusetts Commonwealth had been filled by Roger Williams, Gorton, Coddington and the motley brood that flocked to the shores of Narragansett Bay, we should have had a grotesque conglomeration that, for a time, might have assumed the semblance of a government, of which possibly the chief features might have been religious and political toleration." . . .

Inasmuch as the foundations of civil government and religious liberty laid in Rhode Island have extended themselves over the whole United States—into which enlightened circle Massachusetts herself came after a delay of nearly two centuries—to call this evolution of civilization a "grotesque conglomeration" betrays a singular lack of insight into history. Such defects are not mere prejudices; they proceed from astigmatism of the mind.

Again, in respect of the large issues of history, Mr. Howe does not appear to have recognized that Connecticut was a better example of a Puritan Republic than Massachusetts. His collateral reference to Connecticut (p. 305) does not indicate that he was conscious of this patent fact. The true historical problem is more interesting than anything he develops or suggests. Massachusetts struggling in religious unrest, Connecticut steadily guided by theocratic control, Rhode Island in absolute religious freedom—all three commonwealths went in one direction; they went by democratic means to republican ends.

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To a casual reader, the first portion or about nine chapters of the book would appear to treat of the social conditions and development of the colony at the Bay. Then the growth of town government is handled politically, and the clearly aristocratic functions of the towns are recognized and well worked out. Samuel Stone said wisely of the Congregational meeting, "it was a speaking Aristocracy in the face of a silent Democracy."

But this interpretation would not satisfy our author. He makes an arbitrary division after Chapter IX., assigning X.–XI. to a theocracy and XII.–XVII. to a republic. This arbitrary distinction is not made out. The Congregational ministers were file-leaders in their citizenship, whether, like Jonathan Mayhew in the Revolution, they stirred Massachusetts to its depths, or, like John Cotton in the persecution of Anne Hutchinson, they toppled on the surface. These were the men and the functions, name them theocratic or republican, as we may.

The best chapters are XII. and XIII., describing the autonomy and growth of the towns. Here the legal training of the writer tells in his work.

The book contains much interesting matter, generally presented in agreeable form, excepting the burdensome citations. It is not history; it is smart speaking to a thesis, imperfectly conceived and not deliberately thought out. It is significant that it closes with a flippant reference to Rev. Joseph Cook as a prophet (! !) to be recognized concerning the decadence of New England.

WILLIAM B. WEEDEN.

The Northwest under Three Flags, 1635–1796. By CHARLES MOORE. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1900. Pp. xxiv, 402.)

THE Northwest of a century ago offers to the historian a subject of engaging interest that is marked by all the classical unities—place, time, and action. While it is connected with Canada on the one hand, and with the thirteen colonies and states on the other, it still furnishes a distinct centre of unity in itself, and can be treated in a continuous narrative. We do not know why the year 1635 should be chosen for the beginning, for it was in 1634 that Nicolet pushed through the waters of Lake Huron and the Strait of Mackinaw and discovered Lake Michigan and the region beyond; but 1796, the date of the surrender of the Northwestern posts by Great Britain to the United States, and the passage of the whole Northwest under the third flag, is the proper place to halt, unless, indeed, the history is to be brought down to the present time. There are, to be sure, early rumors of a still earlier venture into the Northwest than Nicolet's, but they are uncertain, and in no sense mark the beginning of Northwestern history, and so may properly be dispatched incidentally, as has been done by the author of the present work.

Mr. Moore has seized the idea of the historical unity of the Northwest, and has aimed to produce a narrative account of it that shall be

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marked by the same character. Moreover, he has well succeeded in his undertaking. His work shows careful study of sources, good sense in handling materials, and commendable skill in composition. He has a quick eye for the picturesque and romantic elements, in which his subject is so rich, and a facile pen in turning them to good account. His narrative is not indeed the narrative of Mr. Parkman, but it is orderly, clear, and in vigor and animation well sustained. It is also pleasant to find him not unfrequently correcting the errors of older and better-known writers and adding new facts to our knowledge. He also often shows an admirable grasp of the large relation of things, as witness the following on the connection of the Northwest with our early national history:

"In its defense Washington first learned the art of war; Franklin realized its possibilities and interested himself in its development; Patrick Henry planned with George Rogers Clark for its conquest; John Jay and Franklin and John Adams drew about it the lines of the United States; Thomas Jefferson bestowed upon it the inestimable boon of freedom; Washington's chief of engineers led its first settlers, and Mad Anthony Wayne subdued its savage inhabitants and received the surrender of its frontier posts."

But Mr. Moore does not always show as firm a grasp as this of the large features of his subject; he does not always make the reader vividly see and strongly feel the master forces that are working behind, or rather in, the events, and so fashioning important history. The defect is not compensated for by good descriptions of the French traders and boatmen or the interesting story of forest warfare. Sometimes there is no indication of the existence of important questions mooted among historians that have arisen out of the facts which the author relates. Occasionally, too, we notice errors in matter of detail. John Cabot did not discover America in 1498, but in 1497. There is no discussion of the policy that prompted the drawing in 1763 of the "King's Line," as it was called, between the heads of the rivers flowing to the eastward and to the westward from the flanks of the Appalachian mountains. We have a good account of the Pontiac war, and particularly of the siege of Detroit, as a series of events, but no plain statement of the ideas and plans of Pontiac. In dealing with the Quebec Act the author quotes the well-known indictment of the King on this score found in the Declaration of Independence, but we have no discussion of the policy of the act in relation to the Thirteen Colonies beyond these two sentences:

"Taken as one of the many reasons by which the ministers of George III. sought to curb and suppress the Colonies, the Quebec Act was unwise and impolitic. Viewed from the standpoint of a quiet administration of England's new territories, it was so successful that during the Revolution the Americans failed in all their efforts to detach the Canadians generally from their allegiance to the British."

Now, it is not wholly certain that the English ministers sought by the Quebec Act "to curb and suppress" the colonies, nor that it was owing to this act that the Americans failed "to detach the Canadians

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generally" from their British allegiance. The most recent investigation of this subject was made three or four years ago by Professor Victor Coffin, who maintained "that the provisions of the Quebec Act were neither occasioned nor appreciably affected by conditions in the early colonies" and "that, far from being effectual in keeping the mass of Canadians loyal to the British connection, the measure had a strong influence in precisely the opposite direction."[1] We have no space to discuss the question involved, and shall not pass judgment upon it further than to remark that Professor Coffin's book is one with which the historian of the Northwest should feel that he is called upon to reckon. It is not even mentioned here.

Once more, the treatment of some events that occurred just before the first American settlements beyond the Ohio were made, is not altogether satisfactory. The author's statement of the proposition made by Jefferson in 1784 relative to the exclusion of slavery from the Western country would certainly mislead the reader, unless he is able to check it by an earlier knowledge. The bare reference to the Land Ordinance of May 20, 1785, gives the whole credit of the rectangular system of land-surveys to Mr. Jefferson, who brought in the bill, but it was New England insistence upon such a system and definite locations of land in the Western country that effected this great piece of legislation. Once more, the land-grant educational policy eventually adopted by Congress had its origin in the Land Ordinance, and not in the Ordinance of 1787, which simply contained an academical declaration on the subject.

It is very true that an author has a right to have his book judged with reference to the plan on which it is written, and that, judged by this criterion, *The Northwest under Three Flags* deserves high praise. The story, as a whole, has never been so well told before. At the same time, if Mr. Moore had somewhat enlarged his plan, so as to take a broader view of his subject and to introduce some discussion of its more notable features, even at the expense of omitting some of the picturesque detail, he would have produced a more valuable book.

B. A. Hinsdale.

On the Trail of a Spanish Pioneer; The Diary and Itinerary of Francisco Garcés, 1775–1776. By Elliott Coues. (New York: Francis P. Harper. 1900. [American Explorer Series, III.]. Two vols., pp. xxx, 312.)

This book is a translation from the Spanish manuscript copy of the diary of Garcés, kept through his journeys in Sonora, Arizona and California. It has a valuable introduction by Coues and an abridged translation of the life of Garcés by Juan Domingo Arricivita.

The diary of Garcés is very meagre, chiefly because there was little to write concerning his somewhat aimless wanderings in the wilderness

[1] *The Province of Quebec and the Early American Revolution*, Madison, Wis. 1896, *preface*.

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among savage tribes. Its great value consists in the fact that it is the earliest complete record of travels in the regions described. Kino, Ugarte and others had passed to the Colorado and the Gila, but Garcés was the first to leave an intelligible record of the country and its inhabitants. He also was the first to travel over the present routes of the Southern Pacific and the Santa Fe (Atlantic and Pacific) railroads across California, the former by way of Yuma and the latter by way of the Needles.

The knowledge to be gained by a careful reading of his diary alone is of comparatively little historical value, but with the excellent critical notes of Mr. Coues, aided by Mr. F. W. Hodges of the American Bureau of Ethnology, the book throws much light upon an obscure corner of United States territory. Moreover, because it is an original document of the first extensive exploration of a part of the present domain of the United States, it is an important addition to American history no matter how meagre the narrative. Garcés noted the various Indian tribes, their location and general characteristics, the rivers, springs, lakes, forests, deserts, mountains, and the ruins of Casa Grande, all of which add a certain interest to the narrative of his lonely travels. The charming presentation of the subject by the late erudite scholar has given new life to a somewhat tedious narrative. The critical notes on Tucson, San Xavier del Bac, Casa Grande, the rivers Gila and Colorado and many other points of interest dispel many errors of traditional belief.

Garcés was a Franciscan friar and missionary priest, stationed at the famous mission of San Xavier del Bac, not far from the present city of Tucson, in Arizona, then in Sonora. From this station he made five expeditions (*entradas*) to the north and west among the wild tribes, crossing rivers, deserts and mountains, through forests, facing dangers and enduring discomforts for the sake of the lives of others. The first journey was through the Papago country to the Gila river and return, a distance of about eighty leagues, made in 1768; the second *entrada*, in 1770, took him through the Seris and Apaches to the Gila; the third in 1771 was to the Gila and the Colorado; and the fourth was still more extended, as on this journey he crossed the Colorado and travelled over Southern California to the Mission San Gabriel, near Los Angeles. The fifth journey, of which a diary was kept,—the one translated in this book—came about in this way; Lieutenant-Colonel Anza was ordered by the viceroy of New Spain to ascertain if it was feasible to make connection over land between the missions of northern Sonora and those of the Pacific coast. Spain had conceived a wholesome fear of the encroachments on her territory on the north-west. A revival of life under Carlos III. had caused the planting of missions and presidios on the north-west coast and the viceroy was seeking the best means of extending and supporting the defenses of the border, hence the expedition of Anza. Anza was accompanied by Garcés and Diaz, two priests, an Indian guide and thirty additional men. After reaching San Gabriel mission, Anza sent Garcés back to the Colorado river, while he and Diaz pushed forward to Monterey. Anza returned to San Xavier and thence to Mexico

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to report on his expedition. The report being favorable he was ordered to collect colonists and soldiers and go overland to establish a *presidio* and mission at the port of San Francisco. The priest Garcés accompanied the expedition as far as the Colorado river and from there he made journeys to San Gabriel by way of "the Tulares" and later journeys eastward to the various Indian tribes, going as far as Zuñi. It is the diary of this fifth expedition of Garcés, conducted largely on his own instance as missionary priest, that Mr. Coues has translated. A priest named Font went with Anza to San Francisco and kept a diary of the expedition, making a creditable map of the country, which is published in this book. Mr. Coues announced that the translation of the diary of Font would form the next number of the American Explorers series. Mr. Coues found three separate sources agreeing in general in the names and dates and general geography but much varied in some characteristics of general narrative.

The first (A) is *Diario del Padre Francisco Garcés* in the Library of the Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, No. 7415; (B) *Diario del P. Garcés*, belonging to Dr. Leon, but temporarily in the custody of Mr. F. W. Hodges; (C) *Diario y Derrotero que siguió el M. R. P. Fr. Francisco Garcés*, etc., from Vol. I. of *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*. The last is the only printed copy until the present translation, which is confined strictly to manuscript "A," with notes from the other two.

While Anza's mission was in the interest of the Spanish government, Garcés and his priest companion were more directly interested in the salvation of the natives and the extension of the work of their religious order. One can scarcely realize the difficulties Garcés encountered in his journeys among the wild tribes, his only companion an Indian guide. Beyond the southern border of what is now Arizona there was not a white man in the entire region, over which roamed the savage Apache, a terror to whites and natives alike. Although it was about 233 years after the first Spaniards crossed the line of part of his travels, and nearly a century after the beginning of the work of Kino and Ugarte, there were no traces of Spanish exploration except a few traditional ideas, mostly religious, of the existence of the Spanish people. The journey was made at the time of the first and second years of the American Revolution. While the patriots on the Atlantic coast were gaining liberty and laying the foundation of a nation, Garcés was attempting to bring into subjugation a territory eventually to become part of the domain of the United States. It was a hazardous undertaking and conducted after the usual blundering methods of the Spanish régime, for Garcés was finally beaten to death by the people whom he sought to befriend. Nor was there much accomplished by the apparently aimless and misjudged expedition of Garcés. "But," says Coues, "it does not lessen our respect for the man, that he, like his Indians, was the victim of the most pernicious, most immoral, and most detestable system of iniquity the world has ever seen—the Spanish combination of *misionero* and

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conquistador which had for its avowed and vaunted end the reduction of Indian tribes to the catechism of the church and the vassalage of the throne."

Spanish-American history is still in much obscurity and has much need of critical scholarship in every direction. The translation of original documents, with critical notes, seems the surest way out of the tangle. It is the only way by which the real history can be brought out of the mist of tradition, distortion and exaggeration. The translation of Garcés will do for Arizona what the work of Mr. Winship did for the Coronado Expedition. It makes one more permanent source in the history of the south-west, whose historical foundations are sure and available to all students. The book itself is an excellent piece of work, doing credit to both author and publisher.

FRANK W. BLACKMAR.

The Storming of Stony Point on the Hudson, Midnight, July 15, 1779; Its Importance in the Light of Unpublished Documents. By HENRY P. JOHNSTON, A.M., Professor of History, College of the City of New York. (New York: James T. White and Co. 1900. Pp. 231.)

IN this work the capture of Stony Point, familiar to every American as an isolated exploit, is described as having an important strategic purpose and effect. Washington with his army was covering West Point from a further advance by the British, who had recently possessed themselves of both sides of King's Ferry, Stony Point and Verplank's Point, thus severing the shortest line of communication which the colonists had ventured to utilize between New England and the other colonies. To draw Washington out of his strong position, and commit him to a general engagement in the open, Sir Henry Clinton directed the ravaging of Connecticut, the execution of which has become known as Tryon's raid. It was to check this operation without playing into the enemy's hands that Washington conceived, planned, and ordered the attack on Stony Point. Its purpose as a counter-diversion was fully attained, as it caused the immediate recall of Tryon to New York. The author seems, however, to err in accounting for the abandonment of Stony Point three days after its capture by the following statement (p. 91): "Washington had no intention of holding Stony Point, as the enemy could besiege it by land and water, and on the 18th the place was evacuated." Documents cited in the appendix (pp. 165, 168, 171, 172) show that Washington had intended to capture and retain both Stony Point and Verplank's Point.

Tactically the attack on Stony Point owes its chief interest to its being a night operation. The precautions taken against a betrayal of the plan by officers or men, the information secured beforehand as to the vulnerable points of the enemy's position and the way of reaching them, the means of recognizing one another in the darkness, all the details that

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interest a student of such an operation, are touched upon, if not specified. The author has made a diligent search for truth at first hand. About half the book is an appendix formed of letters, reports and other original documents, collected from various sources in Europe and the United States, a number of which have never been published before. The narrative is illustrated with a colored map of the Highlands showing the strategic positions of the opposing forces and Wayne's line of march to the rear of Stony Point; plans of Stony Point and Verplank's Point; photographic views of these and other places in the Highlands; and likenesses of Wayne and other prominent American officers. The map of the Highlands is compiled from surveys by Washington's geographer, the originals of which are in the possession of the New York Historical Society.

Yet with all this documentary evidence and the author's lucid narrative before him, the reader may find himself in want of light on certain points. The plan of campaign ascribed to Sir Henry Clinton is based, as the author candidly states (p. 43), upon a letter from Clinton dated September 9, more than three months after the opening of the campaign, or Clinton's capture of Stony Point; and nearly two months after its close, or his re-occupation of that point upon its capture and abandonment by the Americans. A perusal of Clinton's dispatches (pp. 31, 109, 121, 123, 141, 142) will leave a critical mind in doubt as to how much of the plan referred to was "hind-sight" and how much foresight.

There can be little doubt that, if warned ten minutes in advance, the British, as Washington said, could have repelled Wayne's assault. Only by providing in the most minute detail for every possible contingency, was success to be anticipated. In these preparations the military student will find the main lesson of the operation under consideration, a lesson which too many of our commanders in subsequent campaigns have shown themselves ignorant of or incapable of applying.

The author (p. 92) discredits the "story of the neighborhood that the British pickets were surprised and gagged by men in disguise . . . The tale," he says, "is hardly worth considering a poor tradition"; but he does not refer to Washington's instructions to Wayne (p. 155) for a vanguard to " . . . secure the sentries," nor to Wayne's order of battle (p. 159) for "an officer and twenty men a little in front, whose business will be to secure the sentries."

This monograph is a distinct and interesting contribution to the history of our Revolutionary War, and a useful work of reference for students of a subject in military science which seems to be gaining in importance, the night attack. The book is tastefully bound, printed in open moderate-sized type, and provided with an index.

JOHN BIGELOW, JR.

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The Diplomatic Relations of the United States and Spanish America. By JOHN H. LATANÉ, Ph.D., Professor of History in Randolph-Macon Women's College. (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. 1900. Pp. 294.)

THIS work is based upon a course of lectures delivered by the author at Johns Hopkins University in January, 1899. The title would seem to promise a more comprehensive treatment of the subject than is contained in the six chapters which make up the book. The writer states, however, that no attempt has been made to cover the whole field of our diplomatic relations with Spanish America, and that the present volume is intended to serve as an introduction to the subject. An examination will also show that the negotiations discussed have been in the main with European countries regarding the affairs of Spanish America rather than with the Spanish Americans themselves.

The revolt of the Spanish colonies and the part played by the United States and England in founding the republics into which they were formed, are the subjects of the first two chapters. There is such lack of knowledge in this country regarding the other republics of the continent that so clear and concise a sketch of their origin as is here presented should be received with gratitude. The leading events of the war of independence, which resulted in the loss by Spain of all her colonies on the main land, are admirably compressed in a short space, and due justice is done to San Martin, Sucre and O'Higgins, for there is too general a disposition to regard Bolivar as the only remarkable man produced by the movement. None of these four great leaders of the revolution reaped the harvest of his labors. Bolivar died after witnessing the failure of all his plans. San Martin survived him almost twenty years an exile in Europe. Sucre was assassinated and O'Higgins retired from Chile, the scene of his exploits, to die in comparative obscurity in Peru. In the recognition of the independence of the republics, both the United States and Great Britain proceeded with the strictest regard for their obligations toward Spain. Although the insurrection broke out in 1810 and the issue of the conflict could be forecast as early as 1815, independence was not, despite the eloquence and influence of Clay, recognized by the United States until 1822, and by England until 1824. The formation of the Holy Alliance by Austria, France, Prussia and Russia, their intervention in Spain and their menacing attitude towards her revolting colonies, drew from President Monroe, at the suggestion of Canning, the celebrated declaration in his message of December 2, 1823, known as the Monroe Doctrine.

Chapter III. is devoted to "The Diplomacy of the United States in regard to Cuba." The attitude of this government towards the island until about the time of the Mexican war may be summed up in the words of Madison in 1810 "that the United States although they might be an inactive could not be a satisfied spectator at its falling under any European Government." After the Mexican war, the policy of the United

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States took a more positive turn as was shown, not only by the decided stand against European intervention in the affairs of the island, but also by efforts to acquire it by purchase. This tendency to the acquisition of Cuba reached its height during the somewhat stormy mission to Spain of Pierre Soulé of Louisiana, who, being a Frenchman by birth, might with advantage have taken note of Talleyrand's maxim regarding the danger of "trop de zèle" in diplomacy. The remarkable proclamation of Soulé, Mason and Buchanan known as the Ostend Manifesto went so far as to announce in hysteric terms that the United States would be justified "by every law, human and divine, in wresting the island from Spain," should that government be indisposed to accept the $120,000,000 suggested by these gentlemen as the maximum price. The Civil War brought to an end the agitation for the purchase of Cuba, which was mainly in the interest of the South and entangled with the slavery question. Since the war, the only Cuban problem, but a serious one, thrust upon the attention of the government has been the attitude to be adopted during the insurrections in the island, and the complications, such as the *Virginius* affair, resulting therefrom. The problem has been finally solved. The ultimate destiny of the island is dismissed by the writer as too problematical to fall within the scope of this volume.

In discussing the proposed Central American Canal, to which a chapter is devoted, Professor Latané reviews the negotiations with Nicaragua regarding a canal through that country, the conclusion of the treaty of 1848 with New Granada by which the United States guaranteed the neutrality of the Isthmus of Panama, and gives as much attention as his space will allow to the history of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty—an attention which it well merits in view of the confusion existing in the minds of many honorable persons regarding the binding force of that treaty. Of the style and method of the negotiations conducted by Messrs. Blaine and Frelinghuysen in order to secure the abrogation of the treaty, anything but a high opinion is expressed. Mr. Blaine in his celebrated circular of July, 1881, to the American representatives abroad, outlining the policy of American control of an inter-oceanic canal, completely and inexplicably ignored the Clayton-Bulwer treaty and exposed himself to a summary reply from Lord Granville simply calling attention to its existence. Professor Latané justly maintains that the neutralization of the canal is the only proper method of effectively providing for its safety. Before the case of the Suez Canal should be cited as a precedent, as is done by the author, it would be well to have a somewhat clearer conception of just what the present attitude of the English government is towards the Constantinople Convention of 1883, providing for the neutralization of the canal, in view of the reservation regarding that convention made some years ago by Mr. Curzon in the House of Commons, when parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs.

The two remaining chapters of the work treat respectively of "French Intervention in Mexico" and the "Present Status of the Monroe Doctrine." In the former, the agreement between England, France and

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Spain for intervention in Mexico for the purpose of securing a settlement of their claims, the determination of Napoleon III. to establish an empire in Mexico which caused the retirement of the other powers, the policy of the United States and the negotiations which resulted in the withdrawal of the French forces and the collapse of the government of Maximilian are told of in an interesting way. The greater part of the chapter on the Monroe Doctrine is taken up with a sketch of the Venezuelan question. In a summary of "the policy of the United States in reference to arbitration of American questions" the statement is made that "in disputes between American States it (the United States) insists that they be settled without calling in the aid of European powers." If this means, as it seems to mean, that it is the policy of this government not to allow a European power to arbitrate in a dispute between two American states, it would certainly be an extraordinary and arbitrary development of the Monroe Doctrine. No such view has been taken by the United States. For example, one of the most important questions which has arisen between two South American republics since the war between Chile and Peru, has been the frontier question between Chile and the Argentine Republic. Several times within the last fifteen years these two states have been on the verge of war. In 1897 a treaty was negotiated submitting the matter to Queen Victoria for arbitration. The arbitration was accepted and the question is now awaiting decision.

McLoughlin and Old Oregon: A Chronicle. By EVA EMERY DYE. (Chicago: A. C. McClurg and Co. 1900. Pp. viii, 382).

AMONG the latest writers in the prolific field of the Northwest is Mrs. Eva Emery Dye, who has presented us a chronicle of old Oregon, with Dr. John McLoughlin as the central figure. There could hardly be a more interesting combination, and Mrs. Dye has brought out the salient features, to the point of being spectacular. The impression left upon the general reader is very similar to that received from a drama. But the student of history, however the action in the play may entertain him, regrets the mingling of fiction with historical truth in a work which is likely to be mistaken for a wholly serious one. Mrs. Dye refrains from referring to her authorities, although she uses with great freedom all those who are well known, and many of which no account is given. This method leaves her free to put her characters on the stage in any picturesque dress or attitude which she may choose. Where this irresponsibility deals only with the purely romantic it is in a degree pardonable, since it enhances the attractiveness of the book. But when, either by assertion or by implication, it leads the reader to believe that which is essentially erroneous it becomes mischievous.

Mrs. Dye holds a facile pen, which is directed by a lively imagination, qualities which the public writer must possess, and which the present reckless period in literature to a large degree demands. There is a great deal of romantic truth in Oregon history, the simple verity of which

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renders it charming, or wonderful. The proverbial "short step from the sublime to the ridiculous" is what threatens the writer who undertakes to improve upon the original.

All who have known and have written about Dr. McLoughlin, especially all American writers, agree that he possessed a splendid physique and a grand manner—that he was in the highest degree dignified. Mrs. Dye herself probably means to convey an impression of his majestic personality, but in this she fails. In some passages he is made to roar with rage, in others to be able only to say "tut, tut, tut," while in others still he is "gay and brusque." Such quotations as are given of his social sayings are the weakest possible. To this portraiture his descendants and surviving friends strongly object. Probably no man quite touches his own ideal, or the ideal image of him created by loving admirers. Dr. McLoughlin came as near to doing that as it is given tried humanity to do, and the worst that can now be said of him is that he was "too good" to the undeserving.

It is impossible to refer to the many instances in which the author of *Old Oregon* distorts her picture of those days. Choosing here and there, we will say of page 170 that the missionaries here referred to were a party of Presbyterian recruits who joined Mr. W. H. Gray on his return from the States in 1838, and whom Mr. Ermatinger of the Hudson Bay Company was kindly escorting from Green River Rendezvous to the Columbia, by the usual Indian trail travelled by the Company. It was a wide, plain and smooth trail, made so by constant use and the custom of the Indians in hauling their heavy property, and sometimes their children, on drags made of poles attached to the saddles of their pack-horses. This made a good road except in those rocky passes of the Blue Mountains through which the trail ran. There was no "jungle" on the route, and no "forest," except on the Blue Mountains, where the growth could not have been heavy, since forty men of the immigration of 1843 in five days cleared a wagon-road over the range. Neither were there any "snow-drifts" on the range in the month of August, when the party crossed. Therefore Mr. Ermatinger was not "slyly taking the missionaries through the most difficult goat-trails over the mountains," to convince them that a wagon-road was impossible. Even the necessity of introducing the element of villany into melodrama does not excuse the perversion of history. Rivalry there was between British subjects and Americans in Old Oregon, but criminality, even inhospitality, never.

On page 235 Dr. Whitman is made to say that his wagon went to Oregon, or at the least this is implied; but on page 155 it is admitted that the first wagon to reach the Columbia was that of Joseph L. Meek, in 1840. On page 217 Sir George Simpson, at that time governor of the Hudson's Bay territory in America, is said to have left Fort Vancouver late in 1841 on his journey around the world, *via* Siberia, as he did, but on page 234 Daniel Webster, in Washington, is quoting Sir George as saying to him (so it must be understood), that wagons can never get over the Rocky Mountains; that he has "traversed those wilds from his

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youth," etc.; whereas all the travelling ever done in Oregon, or west of the Rocky Mountains, by Sir George, was when he was on his journey from Montreal to Vancouver to inspect the forts on the northwest coast, and especially to settle some troubles at Sitka, whence he departed for Siberia, and reached London in due time *via* Petersburg, Russia; never in his lifetime, so far as discovered, having been in Washington, or having discussed international questions with American statesmen. Sir George was simply a fur-trader.

There are many more unjustifiable instances of this struggling after dramatic effect in serious matters in Mrs. Dye's book. In unimportant matters, such as representing Eloise McLoughlin as an équestrienne, we must say "wrong again." At Vancouver the rules of the Company forbade the participation of women in any social functions, and Mrs. McLoughlin and her daughter were forced to live in almost conventual seclusion. With her nimble pen our author ought to improve upon this performance.

FRANCES FULLER VICTOR.

The History of the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty. By IRA DUDLEY TRAVIS, Ph.D. [Publications of the Michigan Political Science Association.] (Ann Arbor. 1900. Pp. ix, 312.)

MR. TRAVIS has produced a valuable monograph on a subject which has been little discussed in its historical aspects. Begun as a doctor's dissertation but afterwards enlarged, it embodies the results of extensive and careful research and of candid deliberation, and presents a comprehensive review of the various questions of which it treats. The first chapter is devoted to an examination of the British claims to territorial dominion in Central America. This is followed by a review of the conditions that existed at the time of the conclusion of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty. The negotiations are next described; and we are then led up to the controversies that arose, soon after the conclusion of the treaty, as to its construction and enforcement. The methods of settlement proposed form the topic of yet another chapter, concluding with the arrangement effected in 1860, to the expressed satisfaction of the United States. The history of the treaty since 1860 is then exhibited; and the volume ends with a chapter in which the author's conclusions are set forth. He maintains, on the whole, that the British claims to dominion in Central America were not in their origin legally justified; that by 1850, however, it had become necessary, in order to secure by peaceable means the freedom of the canal from British domination, to enter into a conventional agreement for that purpose; that the Clayton-Bulwer treaty embodied the best arrangement that could be made under the circumstances; that the controversies that ensued were so settled as to give substantial effect to the purposes then entertained by the United States with reference to the canal, and to the views which it had maintained as to the proper construction of the treaty; that the demand which subsequently arose for an

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exclusively American control represented a later conception of policy; but that the enduring interests of the United States and of the world at large may be best preserved by an open and neutral transit, which it was the great design of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty to assure.

In his discussion of the development of American policy with reference to Central America, the author, in our opinion, hardly does justice to the administration of President Polk. He states (p. 44) that when the Nicaraguan Secretary of State, in November 1848, sent to Washington an account of the British aggressions then taking place, Mr. Buchanan "did not even take the trouble to reply to it"; and that when the Supreme Director of Nicaragua sent "a direct and pathetic entreaty to President Polk," he was "no more fortunate than his Secretary of State had been in securing the assistance of the United States." These expressions scarcely represent the real situation, which is disclosed by the author himself further on (p. 58), where he shows that the administration had already sent Mr. Hise, as chargé d'affaires, to Central America with instructions which really laid the foundation of our later policy in that region. Mr. Hise was instructed not only to negotiate treaties with the Central American states, but also to use his influence to induce them to form a union, with a view to resist foreign aggression. He was also charged fully to investigate the British encroachments on the Mosquito Shore, and with this direction there was coupled the distinct intimation that the United States would not acquiesce in them. The administration was anything but uninterested and negligent in regard to the interoceanic route through Central America; and only three years previously it had made the treaty with New Granada in relation to the Isthmus of Panama.

The least felicitous chapter in the volume is that entitled "Contemporary Conditions," namely, the conditions under which the Clayton-Bulwer treaty was negotiated. These are set forth very fully, but with a frequency of repetition that underestimates the reader's memory for words as well as for matter. It is stated, for example, in immediate succession, that the slavery agitation in the United States had become so heated that "it gave color to nearly all our political discussions" and exercised an influence on our "foreign policy" (p. 86); that the feeling was so intense that "talk of disunion was freely indulged in by the more radical elements of both parties," the "danger of disunion and civil war" being "so imminent" that there was a general acquiescence in the Compromise of 1850 (p. 87); and that the domestic affairs of the country were "in a most critical state," the "agitation of the slavery question" having "taken on a sectional character and become so bitter as to threaten the dissolution of the Union" (p. 87). Other examples might readily be produced. Sometimes they seem to be due to restating the same matter on the authority of different writers; and occasionally there creeps in an inconsistency. For example, it is stated on page 61 that the Hise treaty with Nicaragua, which was signed after Taylor became President, "might have led to serious consequences had it not been for the conservative tendencies of the administration in power when the treaty

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was concluded"; that "the change of administration" was, however, "the signal for a more vigorous development of the policy lately adopted by the United States regarding Central America"; and in a foot-note, on the authority of Mr. Schouler, that the reason why the Hise treaty was not favorably considered was that "the Taylor administration, to a certain extent, represented the reaction against the aggressive foreign policy of its predecessors."

The printer's work cannot be praised. There are many errors in it. Examples: p. 1, "pretentions"; p. 9, confusion in references to the foot-notes; p. 11, "expell"; p. 13, in the headline, "Rbitish Claims"; p. 14, "tranquility"; p. 16, "form" for "from"; p. 18, "Mosqito"; p. 23, "amunition," "detatchment"; p. 27, "that" for "than"; p. 33, "intolerence"; p. 91, "vigilence"; p. 212, and elsewhere, "Columbia" for "Colombia"; p. 236, "estopp"; p. 177, the last line is found at the foot of p. 178. These are by no means all the errors that we have noticed, but it is needless to multiply instances.

P. 75 speaks of "the conclusion of Cushing's treaty in 1845" with China. The treaty was concluded in 1844. The ratifications were exchanged in 1845.

J. B. Moore.

The Life of William H. Seward. By Frederic Bancroft. (New York and London: Harper and Brothers. 1900. Two vols., pp. vi, 554.)

Mr. Webster's three requisites for true eloquence apply to good biography as well—the man, the subject, and the occasion. The subject of this biography was worthy of the best study and commemoration; its occasion was fortunate, notwithstanding the excellent sketch of its subject which we already had in Mr. Lothrop's contribution to the American Statesmen Series, and the two very complete and exhaustive volumes of F. W. Seward, for a broader sketch than the former and a less detailed and bulky work than the latter seemed to be demanded; the man—the biographer—had previously worked on historical lines, had excellent facilities for writing this biography, and was moved in his task, as we may judge, by the spirit of industry and the purpose to produce not only an authentic, but a just and adequate portrait. Such concurrence of favoring conditions is not often surpassed.

For fully thirty years, and even longer—1838 to 1869—William H. Seward was an original force in our political life. For the first half of this period, he was the distinctive leader of a movement more critical and vital than any other in our history since 1789; and for the latter half he was in official stations which gave him large influence and control in public affairs. He was, moreover, undoubtedly a man of first-class ability, of sleepless industry, of wide-ranging activity, and of ardent ambition. No other of the many who might, with more or less propriety, be named leaders in the same movement, can be reckoned Seward's equal or rival in the art and practice of political or party leadership. Great qualities,

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qualities as essential to success as Seward's, appeared in others. Chase was possibly more philosophical, Sumner more learned or widely-read; many others were more eloquent in speech; but Seward was the one leader who by nature and training was best fitted to gather and weld together into an effective organization the deep and determined forces which from 1840 to 1860 gradually brought on the crisis and struggle of civil war. Jealousies of contemporaries, passions heated in the fierce blaze of war, the spirit of "Thorough" pervading so many sincere minds at the end of the armed struggle, the current notion that Seward like Clay was only a politician too shifty and ambitious to be trusted, these and other like influences have combined since Seward's death, as they did in his lifetime, to deprive him of no small part of what we deliberately regard as his just share of honor and fame as a leader in the most dramatic period of our annals. In our judgment, the highest success of such a work as Mr. Bancroft's was probably intended to be and certainly ought to have been, lay in dispersing the mists of detraction and misconstruction which had latterly gathered about Seward's character and career, and presenting him—the man and the public figure—in true proportions and in clear light—

"both in time,
Form of the thing, each word made true and good."

Some intimations, if not authorized statements, reached the public in advance of its publication, that the present work was, so to say, written from the inside, with access to and use of documents or sources of authentic information not open to previous writers and students. Such forecasts do not seem to have been warranted. So far as the reviewer has discovered or been informed, Mr. Bancroft has here dealt with no new documents and has presented no new facts. Under these conditions what may be required of him is a true picture, a just estimate, a readable narrative, and an effective setting of the whole in the framework of circumstances, events and times in which Seward lived and worked. Above all else, we think, his part as well as duty lay in giving the world a carefully presented and well avouched estimate of Seward's mould of character, his moral or ethical standards, his fidelity, or want of it, to principle. That he was a politician is certain; as this, was he merely crafty and self-seeking, or rather, able and sagacious? He was clearly a statesman, responsible and experienced; as this, was he capricious and visionary, or consistent and patriotic? In a word, was he only an opportunist, or was he a firm, principled statesman and political leader? It was not required of the author to set down categorical answers to these inquiries; but it was the part of a new study of Seward, holding a half-way place between a sketch and a detailed life, to put before us clearly and fairly—more clearly than had been done before—the materials of a safe and just judgment.

Seward's work and career covered two separable periods of time and were concerned with two separable lines of effort, both the periods and

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lines overlapping and interlacing, but still separately visible. For ten years—1838 to 1848—his most important service was his leadership of the Whig party in New York and in the nation, a service prolonged for the Republican party until 1860. Here, if anywhere, we shall see the character of his political party service.

On these points, Mr. Bancroft's chapters V., VI., VII., while giving nothing new in substance, furnish ample materials. Here we may as well say that the first half of the author's first volume is much the most thorough part of his work. Despite a persistent, and to us unaccountable, tendency to find unworthy or purely selfish purposes in what Seward did in party politics, to read into what he wrote or said sinister meanings or designs, Seward emerges from the author's ordeal, if not unharmed, at least with cleaner hands than any ruling politician of to-day whom we could name. His intimacy with Thurlow Weed, from which we verily believe has come most of the *odium politicum* which has fallen upon Seward's head, does not appear in these volumes to deserve great reprehension, though it is visited with constant criticism from Mr. Bancroft and elsewhere. Weed was simply an old-time, managing, editorial wire-puller—no very dangerous or monstrous character in any view, especially in view of bosses of to-day who shall be nameless here.

Into the larger field into which he stepped through his entrance to the United States Senate, in 1849, Seward carried substantially the party methods he had used in New York. We here record our strong impression, founded upon what these volumes disclose, saving Mr. Bancroft's personal opinions or comments, as well as upon a brief personal contact with Seward, and a much longer and closer acquaintance with Weed, that Seward's political and party work from 1849 to 1860 was relatively clean and patriotic; by which we distinctly mean that in methods and aims he was the equal of any of his contemporaries, and far superior to the ruling party leaders of any party in our country to-day.

Mr. Bancroft's two volumes are equally divided between the two halves of Seward's career—his party leadership, and his service in official positions of national importance. The first volume closes with the conclusion of the political presidential campaign of 1860, the second volume opening with the critical winter of 1860–1861, that unfortunate and dangerous interregnum in our political system, but far more critical and dangerous in 1861 than ever before or since. Every reader of these volumes will see, as every reviewer has seen, the change of tone on Mr. Bancroft's part at this point. Hitherto he has magnified—it is not too much to say it—what he regards as Seward's faults, but with the fateful winter of 1860–1861 the tone changes, or seems to change, and Seward's rule of conduct and policy is now finely stated: "the highest statesmanship consists in getting the best results from actual conditions" (II. 7). No apparent effort is thenceforward made to find ulterior or unworthy motives, and though it would not be fair to say that Mr. Bancroft anywhere becomes Seward's excessive eulogist, we are no longer fretted by querulous or obtrusive criticism. Seward's bad foresight at this crisis

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can, of course, be easily shown; and it has been shown to superfluity; but it must at least be clear now, as to many it was not then, that it was absolutely necessary to avoid an outbreak during that sad, we had almost said shameful, interregnum, to tide over the interval between the meeting of Congress in December, 1860, and the advent to his place of the new president. Seward's temper was genuinely hopeful, optimistic. It enabled or helped him to "speak smooth things" or even to "prophesy false visions" without conscious moral obliquity, and, indeed, with a purely patriotic and honest mind. The end does not sanctify the means, as an abstract proposition, but in this case the end was the highest and the means were not bad. There is no evidence of Seward's insincerity here. He saw with calm vision while others were helpless and hopeless; and he doubtless believed his most sanguine vaticinations. If it is needful to mark his fallibility of judgment here, it is not just, nor warranted by historical proof, to doubt his good faith; and surely not to question the value of his strenuous and unfailing hope. Macaulay makes one-half of the "true philosophical temperament" to consist in "much hope," and the other half in "little faith." Seward by this standard was at least half a philosopher, and if so, whether he was a whole one or not does not seem important. We lay emphasis upon this passage in his career because so many, not, however, including Mr. Bancroft, have made it the text of ridicule and depreciation.

Our knowledge of Mr. Bancroft's previous studies and pursuits had led us to expect not only a thorough treatment, but a fresh, substantial addition to our appreciation of Seward's diplomatic services. What he gives us is not without merit, in form and substance, but truth compels the verdict that it does not add to what has already been known and passed upon.

Seward's qualifications for Secretary of State, so far as previous study and interest went, were far superior in 1861, to those of any other American then living. Chapter XXX. of the second volume is valuable as a general brief view of the diplomatic situation in 1861; and it is immediately followed by four chapters covering the chief incidents of our relations with France and England during the war. These chapters, if not brilliantly or graphically done, are a good specimen of orderly and clear presentation. Here must be noted, however, one omission very difficult to account for,—the notorious M'Crackin letter and the affront which resulted in the summary retirement of Mr. Motley from Vienna,—an incident of which all the world took note, and which in the receding light of more than thirty years ago still brings a hot flush to the brow of all who loved and honored the most brilliant historical writer and the most accomplished gentleman of his generation. We are familiar with the apologies offered by thick-and-thin eulogists and personal friends of Seward. They are in vain. The act at best was done without a word of objection or protest from Seward. It goes farther than any act we know of to give credit to the bitter charge of his enemies that the old Secretary clung to his office under President Johnson at the ex-

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pense of his self-respect and personal integrity. We hope Mr. Bancroft will sometime tell why a quite full life of Seward makes no allusion to this affair, though Mr. Motley's appointment is here credited to the Secretary of State (II. 153, 154).

One of the best chapters in style and substance is that on Political Prisoners (II. 254–280), a passage of our war history as indefensible as it was ineffective, an instance of Seward's excessive activity, as well as attended by more than one ugly *contretemps*, *e. g.*, the case of Ex-President Pierce, and by many quite unnecessary acts of futile injustice. Mr. Bancroft's views here are worthy of note and commendation. The system was as unwarranted in law and even good policy as were the legal tender acts in which Chase acquiesced.

These volumes present, as any sketch of a career so long, varied, active, and conspicuous must, numerous points of interest which cannot be touched here. The author offers a final or general estimate of Seward, in most of which we concur. He had previously written of his course in the Cabinet of Lincoln in the early months of the war, as we think with entire justice, that "his ambition was for the Union vastly more than for himself" (II. 149). His summation (II. 526–529) somewhat to our surprise, opens thus: "The excellence and success of Seward's career were mainly due to his *superior ideals*"—the italics ours—"and his skill in practical politics." His alleged "insincerity and egotism" are set down to his "irresistible impulse to pose and explain and appear all-wise and all-important," a characteristic which was not observed, we think, in his lifetime, but may have existed. This is followed by the unqualified dictum that "he holds the first place among all our Secretaries of State" (II. 528) whereat other and perhaps wiser judges will demur, recalling the names of at least a half-dozen previous secretaries. Here, we are reminded of Lowell's sarcasm—given by Mr. Bancroft in a note (II. 504)—"more than any minister with whose official correspondence we are acquainted, he carried the principle of paper currency into diplomacy."[1]

But except in some details, we agree with the final estimate of Mr. Bancroft; and we can pay him the tribute of our hearty admiration of the labor and ability which his work shows.

History, and still more, biography, is written to little purpose if it does not lead to judgments and conclusions. A reviewer may have his; and ours of Seward is carefully formed from some personal observation of the man and much more study of his career, together with a somewhat extended acquaintance with several of his most intimate and life-long associates and friends in public and private life. Judged by just standards, he appears to us a high, bright figure in the large group of those who bore foremost civil parts in the anti-slavery struggle and the ensuing war; a man of pure life and magnanimous spirit; patriotic to the core: unselfish to a degree greatly beyond any other party leader who ranked beside him; governed by a strong sense of duty; ready to stand alone

[1] *Political Essays*, 293.

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for what he regarded as good policy or good morals; gifted with great fitness for party leadership and exercising his leadership for noble ends; a statesman in the highest sense of the word, who sought his country's honor and welfare, and largely helped to save her in the dire agony of her long struggle with slavery and what slavery caused. The shadows —foibles, weaknesses, or whatever else—on such a life and character might be much deeper than critics of Seward have ever claimed, without greatly darkening its beauty and fame.

Mr. Bancroft's handsome volumes are adorned by two fine portraits of Seward—one, we suppose, taken at the age of about 40, the other dating about 1860. The latter is familiar to all. We never look upon it without recalling Macaulay's reference to Lord Eliot's portrait of John Hampden—"the intellectual forehead, the mild penetration of the eye, and the inflexible resolution expressed by the lines of the mouth."

We cannot possibly admire Mr. Bancroft's literary style; but we can, in conclusion, award him the high praise of not making his work what a few months ago in the pages of this REVIEW[1] he commended in another biographer—"a zealous and successful defence and eulogy" of the subject of his biography.

DANIEL H. CHAMBERLAIN.

Charles Sumner. By MOORFIELD STOREY. [American Statesmen Series.] (Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Co. 1900. Pp. iv, 466.)

MR. STOREY'S Life of Sumner is both a thoughtful and a sympathetic narrative of the statesman's career. Its general characterization of his mental and moral traits is accurate, pointing out his deficiencies as well as his excellencies, his faults as well as his virtues. Whilst giving Sumner full credit for his sincere and powerful advocacy of the radical principles of the anti-slavery reform, he does not conceal the fact that the orator was less successful in commanding the assent of his associates in public life than in carrying along with him the applause of the constituency which he represented. The very confidence in assertion of a high standard of right and in the deduction of present duty from it, which gives power to the platform orator, grew, in his case, into an apparent assumption of infallibility which sometimes offended his equals in the Senate. The practical duties of legislation made them impatient of arguments which often ignored the limitations which are met in applying sweeping maxims to the every-day affairs of life. The tone of the uncompromising prophet who warns and denounces, who declares the right with an assurance of certainty, chafes and irritates when debatable ground is reached. An *ipse dixit* is then a challenge and a provocation. The eloquence which had been inspiring whilst all were on common ground becomes wearisome when the common purpose has been attained, and men are urged in the name of consistency and of fundamental right to adopt measures which they instinctively feel are perilous.

[1] IV. 745.

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This was more or less the case when, at the close of the Civil War, the Union had been made safe and slavery had been abolished. The problems of reconstruction were complicated in the extreme, but Sumner advocated his own solution of them as if eternal right was as clearly demonstrable as the day. His two leading dogmas were that secession had been state suicide, leaving blank paper on which the majority in Congress could write what constitutions they would, and that dominance in the South by means of negro suffrage was the necessary means of maintaining emancipation. On these points Mr. Storey's natural sympathy with the subject of his biography makes him come something short of the historical treatment which the lapse of time now makes possible. It cannot fairly be said that judicious students of history and of legal principles commonly approve either of Mr. Sumner's dogmas. A state has made an insurrection and has failed in maintaining it. No doubt it may be punished for it. War indemnities may be demanded in varying form and extent. But the very demand of these implies that the corporate state survives which is to pay them and undergo the penalty. The conqueror may destroy the state, but whether that be right or wrong, politic or impolitic, such a fate cannot be imposed upon the body already *felo de se*. You must have a live subject for an execution. And as to the extent of penalties, whilst the rights of conquerors in war are indefinite they are not boundless. Mr. Sumner himself recognized this when discussing retaliation. "What civilization forbids cannot be done . . . You cannot be barbarous and cruel." The relations of belligerents are subject to the principles of international law as far as these are applicable, and the destruction of the corporate existence of a state has almost never been approved in the final judgment of history. In practice, too, the consent of the conquered state has usually been found a desirable safeguard for continuing submission to the terms imposed, and the organization which waged the war will give a more binding consent than any new one made for the purpose.

As to negro-suffrage as a necessary condition of peace based on ultimate human rights, there were inconsistencies in Mr. Sumner's position which were very open to criticism. He advocated statutory action by Congress rather than amendment of the federal Constitution. Yet a majority of Senators and Representatives came from states which themselves denied suffrage to negroes. For them to enact it was to lose even the pretence of basing the change on right, and make it the imposition of mere penalty on the vanquished. Sumner did not seem to feel this embarrassment, but others did. The fifteenth amendment of the Constitution proved a more acceptable method of reaching the result, as saving self-respect and consistency in the North. The popular sentiment was in this more delicate than Mr. Sumner's. He failed to feel other inconsistencies. His scheme excluded an educational qualification among the freed men, though he recognized the general desirability of such a test. Thaddeus Stevens put the reason crudely in saying that it was necessary to secure the dominance of his party in the country at large. Mr. Sum-

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ner was more smooth in expression but with unquestionably the same meaning. Can we regard it statesmanship to ignore the certainty of failure in governments based on the exclusion of the class of the intelligent, the property-owners, the accustomed leaders of society, of public opinion, of trade, of commerce and of manufactures? Are sociological and psychological principles considered when to such a perilous experiment is added the transfer of power from one race to another, and from the master to the recent slave? Mr. Sumner excluded "Indians not taxed" from the voting class in his scheme of reconstruction, and found no repugnance, in their case, to discriminating on account of race and color, or to refusing to apply to them the principle of basing government on the consent of the governed.

We could wish that in these and in some other respects Mr. Storey could have got his own consent to a more radical discussion of the principles and doctrines involved in the Sumner-Stevens plan of reconstruction. A careful study of the results and of the reasons for its failure is needful to help us to judge of its original wisdom and conformity with great principles of human nature and of right. In saying that Sumner's attitude in the great debate "secured the *establishment* of equal suffrage without regard to color," the author might almost be suspected of irony, in view of the history of five-and-thirty years. If Sumner was really unflinching in his adherence to the fundamental principles of the Declaration of Independence, the unity of truth is such that its harmony should be capable of proof. A new book upon his life, at this day, would seem a proper place for the analysis of the evidence of this consistency, and Mr. Storey's interesting book would have gained philosophical value by its thorough treatment.

The Downfall of Spain: Naval History of the Spanish-American War. By H. W. Wilson. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co. 1900. Pp. xvi, 452.)

Mr. Wilson is well known as the author of *Ironclads in Action.* His clear perception and straight forward style of writing make his books always interesting and instructive. We are in the beginning interested in his view of the *Maine* destruction, and eager to discover how this event was looked upon by one who, like Mr. Wilson, feels it his duty to give every chance to the American side of the question, though himself not specially favorable to our navy. He condemns, on page 23, the Spanish stories of American lack of discipline as fabrication, and comments favorably upon the behavior of the crew after the explosion, but takes occasion to say that "American ideas of discipline are not altogether our ideas." Later on page 36 the author mentions the fact that experts in England, among them Admiral Colomb, thought our navy and the Spanish navy somewhat on an equal footing, and that neither country was strong enough to attack the other. On page 37 the author gives as his opinion that "the Americans showed no exceptional forbearance after the de-

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struction of the *Maine*," although most observers of our country at that period commented upon the restraint the country put upon itself, and the dignified and deliberate action of our government with reference to it. It thus appearing that the author has certainly no bias in favor of the Americans, we may look upon his ultimate statement concerning the *Maine* as devoid of prejudice. This statement is as follows: "still it does seem to the author to have established the probability that the *Maine* was destroyed by a mine."

Referring to the strength of the two fleets the author has given a very clear statement of the tonnage, guns, and armor of our navy and that of Spain. It is, however, in comparing the spirit and training of the personnel of the two fleets, American and Spanish, that he shows the clear discernment which has been his chief merit as a critical writer. The second chapter of this work, especially the latter portion of the chapter, which treats of questions of morale and discipline, is well worth reading for its clear and forcible presentation of facts relative to crews and officers of both navies. In discussing "the plan of operations in the West," which is the title of Chapter III., the author makes natural deductions from the reports that were to be obtained. His judgment of the Spanish plans, or lack of them, is very clear and goes to the bottom of the situation. There is something pathetic in his comments on page 98 upon Cervera, his valor above reproach, his chivalry and tenderness of heart, winning for him the admiration even of his enemies. His assertion, however, that Cervera was by nature despondent and a pessimist, and that he in character and temperament resembled Villeneuve, is open to question, as being unjust to Cervera. Villeneuve commanded great fleets out of which much might have been made by an admiral of resolution, in the long period during which he commanded them. But it is doubtful whether any commander, even if he possessed proper energy, could have done anything in the time given to Cervera, with such a force as was at his disposal. To judge Cervera correctly, we should have to know what he knew of the spirit of his subordinates. Sound strategy and daring tactics are useless if the fighting spirit does not permeate the fleet or army concerned, and it does not appear that the Spaniards under Cervera's command, though brave seamen and gallant officers, had that fighting spirit. Those who served against them in Santiago and Porto Rico were, I think, united in this opinion. No love of war for war's sake was observable, no vigor of initiative, on the contrary a profound apathy, a brave but melancholy acquiescence in the decrees of an unkind fate. No more gallant gentlemen, however, are found in the world than the group of officers whose parole the writer took on the quarter-deck of the *Indiana* as his prisoners on the afternoon of the great battle; nor could one have wished to see a more dignified and noble attitude than that of Admiral Cervera at the close of the battle, when first a prisoner in our hands. The writer believes that if Cervera could have been certain of his ships and their equipment, could have felt that his officers and men were yearning after desperate and sanguinary battle, he himself would

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have been among the most eager of admirals to join close action with us, even though the odds were against him. This estimate of the man is based upon his bearing and conversation when first brought a prisoner to our ships, while the smoke of battle still hung upon the water.

What he actually did, was or seemed to him the best possible with his poorly equipped vessels. He felt it his duty to avoid battle if possible. In so doing he made one false step, choosing to take his squadron to Santiago rather than to Cienfuegos. It is probable that the cause of his so doing, was that Cienfuegos was nearer to the strength of our fleet than was Santiago, and that he did not reflect that Cienfuegos as a refuge would be supported, if necessary, by the whole strength of the Spanish army in the west of Cuba, while at Santiago he would be practically isolated from all hope of assistance. This mistake in judgment was his only one, but it was very serious in its results. It has been said that his small coal supply made the choice of Santiago necessary, but this is not regarded probable by those best acquainted with the situation.

The author next considers the American plans of operations. In judging of these, it should be remembered that a naval plan, as well as an army plan, must have some reference and relation to the plan of the sister service, and it is probable that Admiral Sampson's first proposal to attack Havana, of which the author speaks, had in view the landing of an army force shortly afterward, to hold the positions and gather the fruits of any success that the navy might have in any attack. It soon became apparent, however, that the army would not be ready to land in any force, not for days and weeks only, but for months. As to the chances of success at Havana, there seems to the writer but little doubt that an attack, made as Admiral Sampson proposed to make it, and beginning the day after war was declared, would have resulted favorably. The western batteries could have been taken in detail, and, with them destroyed or silenced, the city itself would have been at the mercy of the guns of the fleet. What did actually happen was that, in pursuance of this prohibition of the Department, a blockade was undertaken of Havana and adjacent ports, and a waiting policy was inaugurated.

The author has the correct idea of the bombardment of San Juan de Puerto Rico: that it was a reconnaissance necessary in order to make certain that Cervera was not in the harbor, and that Sampson showed wisdom in hauling off as soon as it was discovered that he was not there.

In describing the movement of Shafter's army from Tampa to Daiquiri, the author has departed from his usual rule of depending upon official reports, and has been led astray by newspaper comments. The convoy was not in more straggling order than was contemplated in the plans; a rear guard was provided for, which it was expected would gather those vessels together which fell behind. This was all foreseen, and the urgency of the Navy Department's despatches to Captain Taylor as to pushing ahead in order to relieve our marines at Guantánamo, made it most unwise for him to delay the rest of the convoy after he had made all arrangements for guarding the slower ships left behind. As it was,

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the rear guard arrived and joined Captain Taylor's main body within two hours after his reporting the convoy's arrival to Admiral Sampson. The remarkable success attending this transporting of a great force of 50 ships and 17,000 men without loss or detriment, is the best proof that there was no improper straggling, no disobedience on the part of the transports, no unforeseen confusion or lack of water.

Whether Shafter should have chosen Daiquiri to land; whether he should have come at all to Santiago; are questions of tactics and strategy as to which men differ. It is held by some that consistent strategy would have been to block the harbor-mouth with the *Merrimac*, watch it with a few ships, and then direct Shafter's army as well as the main force of the fleet to other fields of action, such as Havana, Cienfuegos or Porto Rico, and that the strategic alternative of that plan would have been to hold the strength of the fleet at the entrance and bring the army there, but to leave the entrance unblocked, and see to it that it remained open and clear.

However the strategy may be, the proper tactics appear clear and well defined. The army should have held to the coast line, occupied the ridge at Aguadores, moved thence along the ridge upon the Morro, and from that vantage-point, with the aid of the fleet, captured the Socapa and Punta Gorda batteries, when the fleet would have quickly destroyed the mines, entered the harbor and engaged the ships lying there. The movement of the army into the interior, far from the support of the fleet, is regarded by most military students as false tactics.

The book is too full of the details of the campaign to permit all of its good points to be noted in the short space allowed this review. Mr. Wilson touches lightly but clearly upon the *Merrimac* incident, upon the responsibility for our delay in blockading Cervera in Santiago, and is at his best in his discussion of Cervera's correspondence with Blanco, upon which his clear deductions throw a light which dispels much of the doubt which has hung about their relations.

Of the battle of Santiago the author should be allowed to speak without criticism, and no one can read unmoved his lucid description and sometimes dramatic recital of the events of that great day.

H. C. Taylor.

The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study. By W. E. Burghardt Du Bois, Ph.D. [Publications of the University of Pennsylvania, Series in Political Economy and Public Law, No. 14.] (Boston: Ginn and Company. 1899. Pp. xv, 520.)

Dr. Du Bois is a negro who was graduated from Fisk and Harvard Universities, studied in Germany, was for a time assistant in sociology in the University of Pennsylvania, and is professor of economics and history in Atlanta University. His history of the *Suppression of the African Slave Trade* was the first volume of the Harvard Historical Studies. He was engaged by the University of Pennsylvania for the special purpose of

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making this study of the negroes of Philadelphia, and he gave fifteen months of hard labor in getting the material for it. In Philadelphia are to be found, he says, some forty-five thousand persons of African descent, who very noticeably do not form an integral part of the community, and he set out to learn something of their geographical distribution, of their occupations, homes, organizations and especially of their relations to their million white fellow-citizens. The purpose was "to lay before the public such a body of information as may be a safe guide for all efforts toward the solution of the many negro problems of a great American city." The method of making this study was a house-to-house visitation, by Dr. Du Bois himself, of the negro families in the ward of the city where a fifth of the colored population is. A half-dozen schedules were used for noting information, but the visitor, received cordially in all but a dozen homes, did not confine himself to categorical questions, and a discussion followed, as to the condition in general of the negroes. The average time spent in each house was about twenty minutes. This careful inquiry was followed by a general survey of the condition in other wards to note differences and correct conclusions. We should add that Dr. Du Bois spent two months, also, in studying his people in a plantation region of the South, and has availed himself of many sources of information. The result of this inquiry is given in eighteen chapters, three short ones dealing with its scope and meaning, and all the rest with the history and present condition of the negroes of Philadelphia—as individuals, as an organized social group; of their physical and social environment; what education they have and how they earn their living; their organizations; their relation to the pauperism and crime of the community; their use of the suffrage; and the contact between the white and the black races.

This book is not merely a census-like volume of many tables and diagrams of the colored people of Philadelphia. The author seeks to interpret the meaning of statistics in the light of social movements and of characteristics of the times, as, for instance, the growth of the city by foreign immigration, the development of modern industries, and the influx of children of freedmen from the South. He is perfectly frank, laying all necessary stress on the weaknesses of his people, such as their looseness of living, their lack of thrift, their ignorance of the laws of health, the disproportionate number of paupers and criminals among them as compared with the whites. He shows a remarkable spirit of fairness. If any conclusions are faulty, the fault lies in the overweight given to some of his beliefs and hopes.

Brief references only can be made to several of the important general conclusions given. Dr. Du Bois believes that the most pressing question of the day for negroes is that of employment; not mere increased educational opportunities nor a higher standard of home life, but the opening to negroes of the usual employments of a community, so as to allow the mass of them some choice in a life work, to afford proper escape from menial employment to the talented few. He feels that the

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possibilities of a people should be judged not by the average of them but by the best of them. "As it is true that a nation must to some extent be measured by its slums, it is also true that it can only be understood and finally judged by its upper class." In the upper class of the city negroes Dr. Du Bois finds much encouragement. He acknowledges that they should do more for the less fortunate of their race, but reminds us that "the uncertain economic status even of this picked class makes it difficult for them to spare much time and energy in social reform." The crucial point to him of the present position of the person with only a little African blood, in the "City of Brotherly Love"—the stronghold in the past of abolition and of the Republican party to-day—is the impossibility of rising out of the status or group of the negroes. Irish and Germans may rise from the group of immigrants, but the colored men of ability cannot rise beyond a certain place, while the influx of ignorant and cheap colored laborers lowers the standards of wages and of living, pauperism and crime are increased, and the leaders of the race are dissatisfied and discouraged. For the shiftless and the bad there are charities and institutions, "but for the educated and industrious young colored man who wants work and not platitudes, wages and not alms, just rewards and not sermons,—for such colored men Philadelphia apparently has no use." We understand the warmth of these words when we read the examples given of young colored persons able to perform the duties, but unable on account of color to secure the positions of clerks, typewriters, etc. This state of things is due chiefly, in Dr. Du Bois's judgment, to a color prejudice, and this he believes can be done away with in time, just as the class prejudices of earlier centuries in Europe are being wiped out gradually. The negro problems are not more hopelessly complex than many others have been; and he looks for a wider and deeper idea of our common humanity. To it, the blacks and the whites have each much to contribute.

Such a study as this should be made in many cities and country districts for comparisons. And more than this we need, what Dr. Du Bois does not give, more knowledge of the effects of the mixing of blood of very different races, and of the possibilities of absorption of inferior into superior groups of mankind. He speaks of the "natural repugnance to close intermingling with unfortunate ex-slaves," but we believe that the separation is due to differences of race more than of status.

In the appendix is a carefully made and instructive study of negro domestic service in the seventh ward of Philadelphia (the same ward in which Dr. Du Bois made his house-to-house visitation) by Miss Isabel Eaton. Colored wage-earners are chiefly domestics. Miss Eaton lived for nine months, while making this study, in the Philadelphia College Settlement in this ward.

The Clarendon Press has published Part XXVI. of the *Historical Atlas of Modern Europe*. It contains, first, an ingenious, if somewhat complicated, map of England and Wales in 1086, by Mr. James Tait, who

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has endeavored to show the boundaries of England at the time of the Domesday survey, its administrative sub-divisions, the situation of the fiefs of some of the chief Norman magnates, the growth of castle-building, the towns, the classes into which they appear to fall, and the chief ecclesiastical foundations in existence in the year named. There is an inset map showing Welsh conditions in 1185. Secondly, Miss Lina Eckenstein gives a map of Italy for the period 1000–1067, with two insets, one showing the general outlines for the century and a half preceding, the other showing Sicily under Saracen rule. Third, there is a sheet showing the Ottoman Empire in Europe from 1356 to 1897, by Mr. W. Miller. The letter-press is clear and well devised, as usual; Mr. Tait's is unusually elaborate.

Outlines of the History of Religion, by John K. Ingram, LL.D. (London, Adam and Charles Black, 1900, pp. 162.) The character and scope of this little volume are not very clearly indicated by the title. Instead of containing in outline a history of the various religions of the world, as the title would lead one to infer, it offers to the reader a somewhat abbreviated statement of the views concerning the history and philosophy of religion which Auguste Comte developed in Vol. III. of his *Politique Positive*. The author, who is an earnest and reverent disciple of Comte, disavows any claim to originality in the present work, and is content to present in clear and simple form what he esteems to be the important but too little known teaching of the founder of positivism. The writer's own contribution is confined to the footnotes and concluding remarks.

After a brief discussion of the nature of religion and its constituent elements, Fetishism, Polytheism, The Catholico-Feudal Transition and The Modern Movement form the leading divisions of the work. Fetishism is employed in the most vague and general sense of the term, in which it is practically synonymous with animism. Monotheism is not treated as distinct from polytheism but is regarded as a "reduction and concentration of polytheism." The Catholico-Feudal Transition is discussed in its relations to the Greek and Roman systems. As the Greek civilization had developed the intellect and the Roman the active powers, there remained, it is said, the cultivation of the affections as the task of the third transition. Catholicism with its grave theoretical difficulties is viewed as owing its power largely to its social efficiency. Protestantism is regarded as at best a makeshift, affording only a "semi-satisfaction" to the intellect while inferior to Catholicism in the cultivation of the religious sentiments. It can thus only serve to mediate the coming of the "religion of humanity." Positivism regards all forms of religion as not only necessary but also beneficent; they serve as a schoolmaster to bring mankind to the "final religion."

The entire discussion bristles with questionable historical generalizations, which, in a brief notice, can receive no attention. The constructive portions are open to all the difficulties of the positivistic programme,

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while, throughout, the tendency is to ascribe too great an influence to religion alone, apart from the other factors of civilization.

This little book, in which the author has sunk his own personality in that of his master, has yet a personal interest, and even pathos, of its own. While the familiar appeal to the practical fruits of a given religious belief cannot straightway be accepted as a final test of its validity, it is interesting to learn from personal testimony the influence upon conduct of a view of the world and of human life which so violently contradicts all orthodox creeds. These elements are best rendered in Dr. Ingram's own words: "Intellectually constrained to accept the philosophic basis on which the Positive Religion rests, I have tried its efficacy on my own heart and life; and, whilst lamenting the insufficient degree in which I have followed its teachings, I have learned to appreciate its practical power. No creed seems to me so effectually to destroy the 'refuges of lies' by which our partiality for ourselves leads us to excuse our misdeeds and shortcomings. I have found it to pronounce the demands of duty in such a way that they cannot be mistaken or eluded. And it appears to me to be alone capable of real social efficacy; in particular, no otherwise than through its extension can the moral unity of mankind be ultimately realized Holding the religion I profess to be the *unum necessarium* for society, I cannot be content to pass away, as I must soon do, without giving public expression to that conviction."

WALTER GOODNOW EVERETT.

A History of the Jewish People during the Maccabean and Roman periods, including New Testament Times, by James Stevenson Riggs, D.D. (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1900, pp. xxi, 320.) This volume forms part of the "Historical Series for Bible Students" under the editorship of Professors Kent and Sanders. Its title explains clearly enough its position in the series and the field covered by it. While the history of the Jewish nation, during these stirring centuries, is recounted for its own sake, the relations of the period to the Old and New Testament history are constantly kept before the reader's mind. The book is, as the author says, "a contribution toward the interpretation of the Gospels in so far as a knowledge of the faiths [?], conditions, and aims of Judaism can be interpretative of the form and method of the activity of Jesus."

In a manual of the popular character contemplated in the plan of this series one does not expect to find new contributions to the subject. These would indeed detract from its usefulness. Professor Riggs has done well to limit himself to setting forth in his own way the best results of recent work in this field. Solidity and sobriety characterize his discussion. His judgment is sound and his conclusions on disputed points always within the evidence. If any criticism may be made in respect to his facts, it is that the author has not always grasped with accuracy and put clearly the elements and situations of the larger politics of which Judaism was a part. But here he has only followed in the footsteps of his predecessors.

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In general, then, the author's plan is admirable and his matter trustworthy. His literary presentation is more unequal. The habit of inserting quotations from other modern writers into the body of the text, indulged in somewhat excessively by Professor Riggs, while it testifies to the modesty of the author, weakens confidence in his independence of thinking and breaks the unity of the presentation. He seems to have warmed to his work but slowly. The story of the beginnings of the Maccabean struggle is almost tame. The treatment of Herod's reign is stronger, in matter and manner as good as anything written on the subject. In the episode of Jerusalem's last days the author rises to something like stirring description. The passage is the climax of the book.

A series of appendices containing genealogical tables and critical and archaeological material adds to the value of the work. There are furnished also an excellent historical chart, three good maps, references and full indexes.

A History of Spain from the Earliest Times to the Death of Ferdinand the Catholic, by Ulick Ralph Burke, M.A. Second edition, edited, with additional notes and an introduction, by Martin A. S. Hume. (Longmans, 1900, two vols., pp. xxxi, 416, viii, 383.) In 1895 Mr. Burke, after "four happy years of varied research," published his history of medieval Spain. The author's untimely death having prevented a revision of the work at his hands, this task has been undertaken by Major Hume, the well-known editor of the *Calendars* of Spanish State Papers. The changes in the new edition consist of a slight rearrangement of the order of the chapters, the correction of obvious errors of statement in the text, and the addition of a number of brief footnotes "where the information seemed to need qualification, explanation or supplement." The editor has also added a preface in which he develops the view that, owing to geographical and ethnological considerations and the comparative slowness of national development in Spain, its history, "better than that of any other European country, enables the philosophical historian to trace the concatenation of causes and effects in the life of a nation," and thus demonstrate the scientific basis of his teaching. In the republication a more attractive external form has also been chosen. These alterations were all desirable, and as Mr. Burke's volumes must serve for the present as the best presentation of the subject in English, any improvement in them should be welcomed. At the same time it must be pointed out that the most serious defects of the original work are still untouched. The narrative is as uneven and scrappy as ever, it gives the same impression of half-assimilated learning, it still lacks unity and flow. There is the same reliance on writers like Sismondi and Fleury and Montalembert, the same insular regard for what Englishmen may have said on the subject, the same neglect of important modern monographs, and, what is more remarkable, of the two most considerable recent works on the general history of the period—the *Geschichte von Spanien* of Schäfer and Schirrmacher and the *Historia General de España* issued by the Royal Academy of History.

CHARLES H. HASKINS.

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Side Lights on English History, being Extracts from Letters, Papers and Diaries of the past three Centuries. Collected and arranged by Ernest F. Henderson, Ph.D. (New York, Holt, pp. xxii, 300.) Students and teachers of history have long been indebted to Dr. Henderson for his *Select Historical Documents*. They will, therefore, turn with interest to this new source-book, an attractive and imposing volume, illustrative of modern English history from Elizabeth to Victoria.

Dr. Henderson has laid under contribution State Papers, Somers Tracts, Historical Manuscripts Commission's Reports, *Historische Zeitschrift*, news-letters, memoirs, etc., etc., and has succeeded in getting together a large amount of very interesting matter. The character and career of the different sovereigns from Elizabeth to George the Third are illuminated by extracts from contemporary writers, and the history of such events as the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, the coming of the Armada, the Gunpowder Plot, the trial of Charles I., the plague and fire of London, Monmouth's rebellion, the American War of Independence, the death of Nelson, and the battle of Waterloo is told in the language of the time.

As to the use which the student may make of this material the editor says, "I should suggest that he be given a topic corresponding to the heading of one of my thirty-two groups and be asked to make an abstract of the salient points from his text-book. After he has done this, and added some supplementary reading, I should consider him to have reached a frame of mind most suitable for approaching the sources." That is, text-books and histories are to come first in the reading of history, and independent study of the sources later. The wisdom of this advice becomes apparent when we examine the character of some of the sources drawn upon, the scurrilous "Character of James I." by Sir Anthony Weldon and "Bloody Assizes" by John Dunton, the Puritan accounts of Arthur Wilson and Sir Simonds d'Ewes, the Tory memoirs of Reresby and of North, and the Whig narrative of Burnet. These are, of course, among the most interesting contemporary narratives, and the editor has chosen from them the most interesting pages, but they are far from reliable.

These source-books are not histories and he who reads them is not studying history; but if one has time to use them, and if it is pointed out that half of the matter in them is trivial and the other half unreliable because partisan, they may doubtless be used with profit. They will at least add interest—though perhaps a fictitious interest—to the study of history. This is true of the book under review, but with this further qualification: the book seems too large for the use of young students, the contents too familiar to be of much value to advanced students. The *Court and Times of James I.*, Whitelocke, and Pepys, which are most quoted, are accessible to all students of English history,—where they are not accessible the study of English history must be out of the question. These criticisms of the book seem to me inevitable, but after all, interest is the main thing in a book of this kind, and in this respect the editor

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has been eminently successful; the book is interesting, every page of it, and everyone must say so. And the illustrations are an added element of interest.

W. Dawson Johnston.

Dr. Osmund Airy's new edition of Burnet's *History of My Own Time* is carried on by the issue of the second volume (Clarendon Press, pp. 533) to the end of the reign of Charles II. The announcement made elsewhere that Dr. Airy has entered into official engagements which will make it impossible for him to continue his work, must be a matter of great regret to all historical students who are interested in the Revolution of 1688. To what was said in this journal (III. 166) on the publication of the first volume there is little to add on the present occasion. The plan is the same, and the editor has carried it out with the same minute fidelity, good judgment and extensive learning as before. An excellent index to the two volumes is provided. It is stated in the preface that the editor intended to place in an appendix the full text of Burnet's "Characters" from the Harleian MSS., "which appear in an inaccurate and incomplete form in Ranke's sixth volume"; but that he relinquished the design, the Delegates of the Clarendon Press having decided to incorporate these "Characters" with other material in a supplementary volume.

The History of the Castle, Town, and Port of Dover by the Rev. S. P. H. Statham, rector of the Castle church (Longmans, pp. 462), has some of the faults and some of the excellencies of the average local history. He refers to Gardiner's *Students' History*, as if it were an authority upon Roman Britain, and he gives a good deal of desultory information which were fitter for a text-book of English history; but the topographer, it may be said, cannot go far astray in the use of authorities, and even the introduction of some general history may be excused.

Dover has two chapters of history which are peculiarly her own: the history of the Tower of Julius Caesar so-called, the most ancient building in England, and the history of the Church of St. Mary-in-the-Castle, the oldest church in Britain. But the castle records being lost, the materials for the history of tower and church are very inadequate, and the author, while siding with Canon Puckle in assigning an early date to the church, can only say that it was *probably* erected in the first century. About the history of the town there is less conjecture, the town accounts existing from the year 1365 and the minutes of the Common Assemblies from 1506. The author dates the town walls from the reign of Edward II., though Burrows traced them back to Norman times and Puckle to earlier times still. These points will interest the specialist.

But who does not know the charm of topography as mere reading? In this, for example, one can learn that the tariff for passage across the straits was 6d. for a footman and 2s. for a horseman, and how every householder was compelled in the time of the third Edward to have a tub full of water outside his door every night in case of fire, and of the

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great cannon in the Castle, Queen Elizabeth's pocket pistol they called it, cast in 1544 and capable, it was said, of carrying a twelve-pound ball for seven miles, and many things besides, entertaining if nothing more. The book should be welcome to all lovers of olden time.

From Capetown to Ladysmith: an Unfinished Record of the South African War. By G. W. Steevens, edited by Vernon Blackburn. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1900, pp. 198.) The series of letters from South Africa which Mr. Steevens was writing for the London *Daily Mail* was abruptly closed by his death last January. The fragment of correspondence has been made into a book, with a supplementary chapter containing a sketch of Mr. Steevens's life and an estimate of his character and abilities by Mr. Blackburn. Mr. Blackburn's part is an ill-digested piece of composition. The letters themselves possess a twofold interest: they are another specimen of the work of a young journalist of great promise; they give some unusually vivid impressions of the scenes in South Africa at the outbreak of the war. Mr. Steevens enters into no discussion of the causes of the conflict or the rights of either side: he tells simply what he sees and hears on the way from Capetown to Ladysmith, with a detour, so to speak, for the battle of Elandslaagte. The book inevitably suffers because the editor was not free to select and connect the letters as Mr. Steevens himself might have done; nevertheless it offers a number of brilliant descriptions and bits of narrative. The account of the charge at Elandslaagte, for example (pp. 62), is as rapid in movement as the charge itself. Stevenson and Kipling have taught us how writing of this sort should be done; and Mr. Steevens was an apt pupil.

Paris as Seen and Described by Famous Writers. Edited and translated by Esther Singleton. (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1900, pp. xiv, 397.) This collection of articles and illustrations may probably be ranked with the books which the International Exposition has called out. The publishers state that its purpose is to supplement the guide-book, and its editor has followed the usual plan of guide-books and narratives of travel. The text is arranged under three heads corresponding with the three larger divisions of Paris—the Cité, Left Bank and Right Bank—and the order under each head is topographical, proceeding quite regularly from east to west; so that any one who prefers literary description to mere statement of facts would find here an excellent substitute for his Baedeker or Joanne.

English and French writers are quite equally represented in the various chapters, though the French excel in importance and length. Victor Hugo and Louis Blanc both contribute sketches of the older town, while Thackeray, Balzac, George Sand, Sophia Beale, Arsène Houssaye, Hare, Charles Dickens, Jr., Zola, Théodore de Banville and Fournier are included among those authors who treat of the modern city. Under their guidance we visit churches, palaces, museums, mingle with the crowds

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which throng the streets, squares and gardens, and take part in the daily life of the Parisians. Good photographs of the buildings or places described embellish the text, and maps affording bird's-eye views of the different quarters of Paris serve as a glossary.

Historical accuracy is not to be expected in a compilation of this nature, nor should we cavil at such fusions of fact and fancy as Hugo, for instance, delights in. And the objection which might be raised that many of the descriptions are a generation and more old can be met by the answer that the illustrations are recent and correct possible misconceptions.

But the errors of proof-reading are more serious. French accents come and go at will, as "Theatre des Varietés" (p. 308). Words are disfigured, as *Tait* for *Fait* (p. 251); Quai de la Rappe, for Rapée (p. 222). The editor seems to have personal views about orthography, for "Sevigné" and "Palais Royale" occur repeatedly; while to label the vista of the Champs Élysées the "Bois de Boulogne" (p. 390) shows negligence. These defects detract from the general excellence of the press-work.

F. M. Warren.

A Short History of Russia, by Mary Platt Parmele (New York, Scribner, pp. xii, 251). Mrs. Parmele reminds one of a person wading along an irregular beach. At times she makes rapid progress, and is not impeded by the depth of water; occasionally she meets with a gully where expert swimming is required, and expert swimming is not in her province. The book seems to be largely a condensation of Rambaud's *History of Russia*, but the author is not slavish in following Monsieur Rambaud's lead. She has some just ideas of the formation of the Russian Empire and she is quite right in dealing with it as the history of a power and not of a people. Unfortunately she does not write in a very accurate English style and the volume is disfigured by many misprints and by some serious errors of statement. For instance, speaking of the Princes of Moscow, she says (p. 63) that their line has remained unbroken until the present time. But a little further on (p. 97) speaking of the death of Dmitri and Feodor, the sons of Ivan the Terrible, she says, "There was not one of the old Moscovite line to succeed to the throne," and she adds "The work of the Moscovites was finished, and the extinction of the line was the next necessary event in the path of progress." Such inconsistencies of statement are inexcusable in a history. She speaks of the fanatical sect known as Raskolniks. Raskolnik is simply the generic term for dissenter; there are and have been in Russia many different sects of Raskolniks. She declares that the title Tsar is derived from the name "Caesar." One would be rash to say that it was not derived from Caesar; nevertheless it is a question whether the word Caesar may not be derived from Tsar. A little revision would make the volume a useful, brief compendium of Russian history and the vivacity of the narration is certainly in its favor.

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Indianer und Anglo-Amerikaner: Ein geschichtlicher Ueberblick, von Georg Friederici, Oberleutnant im Infanterie-Regiment Graf Bose (1. Thür.) Nr. 31. (Braunschweig, Friedrich Vieweg und Sohn, 1900, pp. 147). The author of this brochure is a German infantry officer who, from long residence and extended travel in the United States, has come to be interested in the Indian question as determined by past and present governmental policy. A previous work dealt with the practice of scalping, especially as fostered and encouraged in the colonial wars. The present one discusses the relations between the two races from the first discovery down to this year of grace 1900, following the lines of Helen Hunt Jackson's *Century of Dishonor*, with a narrative of slave-hunts, scalping-raids, massacres and broken faith that is an old story to readers of Indian history. The author deals primarily with the United States, beginning with the Spanish period, and follows in turn the history of the Delawares, the Iroquois, the Cherokee, the Sioux, Apaches, Cheyennes, Poncas, Nez Percés, the Texas tribes and those of California. Some of the facts given are comparatively well known, such as those relating to the massacre of the Christian Delawares in 1782 and the removal of the Cherokee in 1838, but others noted are compiled from sources not readily accessible. To those who have looked upon scalping as a custom practised only by Indians, or by the rude borderers of a past century, it may be a surprise to learn that the hostility of the Apaches to the Americans dates from a massacre of a part of that tribe committed in 1836 by a band of professional American scalp-hunters in the pay of the governor of Sonora. In more recent times scalp-bounties were offered, and probably paid, by the legislature of a western territory. In 1862 the governor of Arizona ordered that every Apache man should be killed, every woman and child sold into slavery. In California the natives were practically exterminated by the miners in regular Indian hunts. The belief of the Columbia River tribes that the missionary Whitman had deliberately uncorked the smallpox among them does not appear so foolish when we know that as far back as 1764 Sir Jeffrey Amherst, the British commander-in-chief, undertook to destroy the Indians adhering to Pontiac's alliance by sending among them infected blankets.

The author draws a sharp contrast between conditions in Canada, where Indian outbreaks are nearly unknown, and in the United States, where our Indian wars have cost us five hundred million dollars, and ascribes much of the difference to the shifting policies of our partisan politics. The numerous references show that the author is thoroughly familiar with the literature of the subject, and while some of the criticisms are perhaps unnecessarily severe, the work is a distinct contribution to American history.

JAMES MOONEY.

The Growth of Nationality in the United States, by John Bascom. (New York, Putnam's Sons, 1899, pp. 209.) The essays along the ancient and honorable lines of constitutional history in this work are no

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better and no worse than they have been written many times heretofore. Their condensed form is a good feature. But in a chapter on "Strife between Classes" as well as in his few pages of "Conclusions," the author has said something new and said it tersely and clearly on what may be called the sociological aspects of constitutional development. He feels that the growing nationality of the United States has surmounted three obstacles: provincial life, sectional strife between the states, and the decentralization of the federal departments. A fourth obstacle, reaching the proportions of a positive present danger, he finds in the contests between the classes and the masses, each of which seeks to use the power of the state against the other. The especial forms which this conflict takes are examined in contracts, corporations, police power, liquor laws, railroads and the interstate commerce commission, injunctions, labor movements, and the income tax.

In treating these politico-sociological questions, the author is likely to become alarming to timid people and a happy find for sensational journalists. At times he sounds like the voice of Jefferson and again like a Populistic stump-speaker. Few will be found to deny the presence of the most obnoxious class legislation, and legislation in behalf of special interests, in the work of all our legislative bodies, or to deny that combinations of capital exist which are restrictive of individual motion. Few will question the severity of the author's arraignment of these evils. But the very fact that he calls recent political conditions in England an evidence of advance and those in America an evidence of retrogression is proof that in due time we too shall find a quietus for this conflict, certainly an inherited sin, and rendered doubly hard by local conditions. The author has done a service in collecting and calling attention to these dangers; if he live long enough he can afford to laugh at them.

From the standpoint of the historical student, there would seem to be no justification for the publication of *The Territorial Acquisitions of the United States*, by Edward Bicknell (Boston, Small, Maynard and Company, pp. xi, 110) It is simply the briefest sort of statement of facts relating to the various territorial acquisitions of the United States, from the first acquisition of the Northwest by the central government under the Articles of Confederation to the annexation of Hawaii in 1898. It contains nothing new, and little, if anything, that is not perfectly familiar to everyone who possesses more than a superficial knowledge of American history.

The book is evidently neither for the specialist nor for the student, but rather for the general reader, who is unacquainted with the history of our territorial expansion, and who, in view of our present conditions, desires to find in as brief compass as possible the main facts of our history bearing upon these conditions. To such an one this little book may prove useful. Although relatively too much space is devoted to the annexation of Texas and the Mexican cession, and some assertions and rather sweeping generalizations would be bettered by further explanation,

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the book as a whole is a sufficiently accurate and impartial statement of how the United States has acquired its vast territorial possessions. The much discussed question of the constitutional right to acquire territory, whether remote or contiguous, is accepted as settled, and consequently the only question with regard to our recent expansion is one of propriety or wisdom, a question upon which the author expresses no opinion, but leaves each reader to decide for himself.

In the appendix will be found interesting tabular statements of the size and population of all of our territorial acquisitions, and a comparison of the area of the United States and of these acquisitions, and of the population of the United States with certain European countries.

Our Presidents and How We Make Them. By A. K. McClure, LL.D. (Harper, pp. xi, 418.) Colonel McClure's reputation as a journalist intimately acquainted with the leaders and events of many recent presidential campaigns would naturally cause large numbers of readers to turn eagerly to a volume of his reminiscences, and he is abundantly justified in publishing them. But instead of contenting himself with meeting this desire, which he could do exceedingly well, he has chosen to mingle his recollections with a general history of presidential canvasses, which he is quite incompetent to write. This was a serious error of judgment, but nothing more. What is truly shocking, however, is the fact that, in the first 153 pages, (the wholly unnecessary portion devoted to the period preceding the campaign of 1860), nearly every significant statement is derived—"convey, the wise it call"—from Mr. Edward Stanwood's *History of Presidential Elections*. It is needless to resort to the "deadly parallel column"; suffice it to say that page after page of Colonel McClure's book gives evidence of bodily transfer of matter. It is true that he says at the end of his preface: "I am indebted to Edward Stanwood's *History of Presidential Elections* and to Greeley's *Political Text-Book of 1860* for valuable data of the earlier conflicts for the Presidency." But it is also true that he frequently claims to have made independent investigations and exhaustive researches for material. The phrase of the preface is all too mild for the obvious facts; and it is not till p. 395 that, in a sort of appendix, he admits that the scores of electoral tables which appear on the preceding pages have been "adopted" from Stanwood. Nor has he, apparently, usually done the latter the justice of using the revised edition of his book, that which bears the title *History of the Presidency*.

The personal reminiscences, which practically begin with 1860, are often very interesting, and sometimes valuable, if one allows for an exaggerated estimate of the importance of Pennsylvania in crises of national politics. Col. McClure was very near the inner circle in several campaigns. For an experienced and famous journalist, he writes badly. There are not a few sentences as bad as this (p. 54): "The hero-worship of Jackson was earnest and always aggressive when summoned to battle, but Clay was beloved and idolized beyond that accorded to any leader of any party in the history of the Republic."

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The History of Malden, Massachusetts, 1633–1785, by Deloraine Pendre Corey. (Malden, the author, 1899, pp. xviii, 870.) This volume is the result of nearly half a century's research and study; and the author's intelligence, diligence and acumen are discovered in every chapter. In addition to the subjects usually treated in a town history, are the English Maldon; a study of the formation of the town government and of the duties of all the several officers; the Marmaduke Matthews troubles and their important bearing on the ecclesiastical history of Massachusetts; Joseph Hills and his pre-eminence in the preparation and codification of the Colony Laws of 1648–1649, which is demonstrated, and the claims advanced by prominent writers on behalf of Capt. Edward Johnson disproved; the Rev. Michael Wigglesworth—a more complete treatment of his life and work than even Dean's admirable *Life*; the French Neutrals; lists of Malden men in Philip's War; the French War, and the Revolution, with their respective service; and a chapter on Malden in the Navy which contains much new matter and assigns to Capt. Daniel Waters his proper place in the naval history of the Revolution.

The famous instructions of May 27, 1776, to the town's representative, instructing him to support any declaration of independence which the Continental Congress might make, are here first printed as they appear upon the town records.

The old, wide-spread, and persistently held hypothesis that Joseph Hills married Rose Dunster is, we hope, here finally exploded by giving the register of his marriage to Rose Clarke, of Burstead Magna, Billericay, Essex.

Mr. Corey's dependence on original authorities, his full citations and copious notes will satisfy scholars, who will also commend his thoroughness of treatment and his purpose to portray our forefathers as they were —with all their faults and limitations.

The volume, printed at the University Press, is illustrated and well indexed. It is entitled to high rank in the department of local history because of its valuable contribution to knowledge and of the admirable manner of its arrangement and execution.

HENRY H. EDES.

Constitutional History of South Carolina from 1725 to 1775. By D. D. Wallace, A.M. Presented at Vanderbilt University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy. (Abbeville, S. C., 1899, pp. xi, 93.) Starting out with the thesis that the growing power of the Commons House of Assembly is the most noteworthy feature of colonial history, Dr. Wallace devotes a few chapters to the framework of the government and then proceeds to discuss the controversy between the governor and council on one side and the assembly on the other. Special stress is laid on the disputes over money bills, as it was by gaining control over the purse that the assembly secured a position of supremacy in the government.

Though the manuscript journals and public records at Columbia have been carefully used, a few minor errors have crept into the book, as, for

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example, the statement that the election law of 1759 was the regulation until the Revolution (p. 11), and the inference that the common pleas and general sessions formed only one court (p. 21). The principal criticism to be made, however, is that the work is entirely too brief for a period of such length and of so much constitutional importance. The years before 1765 are disposed of in a few pages. The Stamp Act, the circuit court acts of 1768 and 1769, and the dispute in regard to the appropriation for the Wilkes fund are, however, considered more in detail.

W. Roy Smith.

Old Trails on the Niagara Frontier, by Frank H. Severance. (Buffalo, N. Y., 1899, pp. xii, 321.) The nine essays of this book illustrate early periods in the history of the region lying between Lakes Erie and Ontario. The volume is addressed rather to the general public than to the historical student and the essays are too brief to serve for much more than an index to point the enquirer to broader fields. The "Niagara Country" has not yet received the attention it deserves from historians and Mr. Severance has done well in calling attention to the fact. Fort Niagara naturally holds the principal place in his pages and the local coloring of that lonely post tinges them all. He has drawn freely from the Jesuit Relations and other original sources. His essays are of unequal worth. "The Cross Bearers" is an attempt to specify the work of all the early missionaries. Father Dallion (1626) the first white man *known* to have visited the region (for of Bruslé whom Parkman calls "that Pioneer of Pioneers," we have little real knowledge), the Jesuit Brébeuf, one of the grandest figures in the annals of the Order, Dollier, De Gallinée, La Salle, Hennepin, Gabriel (65 years old when he stepped upon the banks of Niagara), Watteux, Lamberville, and all the heroic band of seventeenth-century workers live again in these pages. The second essay relates, in fictitious narrative, the real conditions prevailing at the fort in 1687–88 during the French possession. "With Bolton at Fort Niagara" deals with the British occupation. It is drawn almost entirely from the Haldimand Papers of the British Museum, and is perhaps the most valuable portion of the book. Many will be surprised to learn that Hessians were employed at Niagara during the Revolution. Colonel Bolton found them most unsatisfactory soldiers and got rid of them as soon as possible. They would neither fight Indians nor work on fortifications and were continually selling their equipments for rum. Even their commander was officially reprimanded. It would appear that even in those heroic days advantage was sometimes taken of the "Noble Red Man." Experiments showed that garrison powder would throw a 46-lb. shell 240 yards—three times as far as powder issued to Indians would carry it. With musket balls the same remarkable difference was noted. Even garrison rum "carried" in similar proportions—suffering a change before passing from the commissary's hands, in which the Niagara played an important part. The paper compiled from the MS. journals of John Lay gives a glimpse of business conditions on the frontier in 1810–23

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concerning which comparatively little is known. The other papers are of less worth because they treat of more familiar subjects; but altogether, Mr. Severance may be congratulated on having accomplished in a very satisfactory way the task he marked out for himself.

WILFRED H. MUNRO.

Lights and Shadows of a Long Episcopate, being Reminiscences and Recollections of the Right Reverend Henry Benjamin Whipple, D.D., LL.D., Bishop of Minnesota. (Macmillan, pp. vi, 576). This volume, whose appearance has been eagerly awaited, and which comes at the request of many friends, is a most welcome addition to American literature. It is the record of a varied and important life filled with heroic deeds and Christian charity. Bishop Whipple has had a wide and intimate acquaintance with the greatest statesmen, ecclesiastics and men of affairs in this country and abroad, and this book brings us into close touch with many of them, filled as it is with copies of autograph letters on most important subjects, and with interesting anecdotes of wit and wisdom.

In his ecclesiastical affairs Bishop Whipple, the pioneer Bishop of Minnesota, consecrated in 1859, shows the large charity and wide comprehensiveness of a true-hearted Christian, together with a wise, far-sighted administrative ability literally fulfilling Christ's injunction: "Be wise as serpents and harmless as doves." His diocesan seal, which adorns the cover of his book, is singularly appropriate and suggestive; it is a peace-pipe crossing a broken tomahawk, and, just above it, the cross. The motto is: "Pax per sanguinem crucis."

To the historian, the chief interest centres about his great achievements in the cause of education and his grand work among the Indians.

On the high bluff which skirts the beautiful little city of Faribault, Minnesota, besides state institutions for the deaf and dumb, the blind and feeble-minded, are three large groups of buildings known as Bishop Whipple's schools. These are the Shattuck Military School for boys, with probably the finest group of school buildings in the United States, St. Mary's Hall, a school for girls, and the Seabury Divinity School for theological students. When John Walter, M.P., proprietor of the London *Times*, visited this country, he was advised by the Archbishop of Canterbury to visit these schools. On his return to Philadelphia from the West, he was asked by George W. Childs what had impressed him most. He replied: "The schools of Bishop Whipple in Faribault." To one who has seen them it is not surprising. This volume has among its illustrations, views of the fine buildings. Bishop Whipple significantly says: "On the site of the beautiful Shumway Memorial Chapel" (a perfect gem of architecture in the magnificent grounds of Shattuck School) "I witnessed a scalp dance in 1860."

Bishop Whipple's marvellous work among the Indians, so simply and graphically, yet so fascinatingly told in this book, will remain not only one of the most romantic and beautiful chapters in American history, but

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also an unanswerable argument for the power of Christianity and the worth and efficiency of Christian missions, under apparently the most unfavorable conditions. How often by his personal bravery and Christian spirit of love and justice he saved this country from disgrace, and massacres, and the terrors of Indian warfare, cannot be known, but these pages record many startling instances.

The appendix of sixty-nine pages is a rare and most valuable collection of original documents on Indian affairs.

CHARLES L. WELLS.

A series of incidents, as casual and as lacking in significance as the occurrences which led up to the events which made the experience memorable, took a young American girl from her Paris schooling and landed her in the city of Mexico in 1862. The account of her experiences during the five years that followed, written thirty-five years later for the *Century Magazine*, and now expanded into a book, *Maximilian in Mexico*, by Sara Yorke Stevenson (New York, The Century Co., pp. 327), is in very many respects one of the most intelligible of the numerous accounts of what took place during that curious episode in the American drama. Writing from the standpoint of personal observation, Mrs. Stevenson has succeeded with quite unusual skill in maintaining the balance between what she saw and heard for herself, and what she, like others who study the affair, must have learned from the books in which those who participated officially have published their recollections of what they did. Knowing these participants, as table companions, partners at court balls, and as powerful protectors in times of serious danger, she has understood how to use their books, and the result is a clear, reasonable narrative of what happened, with some shrewd suggestions as to why. Her account, like most of those which are available to English or European readers, is written from the French side, the side of the story which must always chiefly excite curiosity. The pathetic martyrdom of the Emperor, whose stoic heroism at the end has been accepted as atonement for the years of indecision and inefficiency, and the controversies which grew out of the mutual recriminations of those who were variously responsible for the course of the disaster, are treated by Mrs. Stevenson with considerable appreciation of historic proportion, and she does the highest justice to most of the disputants by ignoring the details of their troubles altogether. The footlessness of the whole affair, the entire absence of justifying motive or of any sort of profit in the outcome to those who were responsible for the intervention, all that makes this episode the despair of those who would see some philosophy in history, were never more clearly shown than on Mrs. Stevenson's pages. It is only when one gets on the other side, and tries to understand what was happening to the Mexican people during these years of the Franco-Austrian Empire, that the meaning of it becomes visible. A year ago, the technically historical portion of Señor Romero's *Mexico and the United States* was noticed in this REVIEW. The other portion of that volume was a de-

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scription of modern Mexico, the prosperous, hopeful, powerful nation which is attending so successfully to its own affairs in its own way. This Mexico of to-day was made by the French Intervention. Fifty years of unlicensed independence, liberty, freedom, or whatever it may be called, of petty politics and clever soldiering, of the rivalries and jealousies that always go with the absence of responsibility, had discredited Mexico as completely in the opinion of her own people as in that of the outside world. The national health required for its constitution a purging and a shock. The United States thought of stepping in to set things right; France actually intervened. The result, however unpleasant to France, made Mexico a nation.

Under Three Flags in Cuba; A Personal Account of the Cuban Insurrection and Spanish-American War, by George Clarke Musgrave. (Boston, Little, Brown and Co., pp. xvi., 366.) In the first two-thirds of this interesting volume, were names and dates omitted, one might imagine himself perusing the horrors of the Thirty Years' War, the ruthless devastations of Tilly and Wallenstein. Among our numerous war-books this one tells us most about the patriotic struggles of the Cubans prior to 1898, and about the iniquities practised upon them by that impulsive Spanish cleaving to Cuba whose superlative expression was found in Weylerism. Mr. Musgrave had peculiar advantages. Sent by an English service journal, he landed in Cuba "a warm sympathizer with Spain"; he served with the revolutionists and studied them and their cause; he repeatedly crossed the lines, underwent grievous danger and hardship, was wounded and imprisoned, was barely rescued from a spy's death and finally "deported to Spain," all prior to our declaration of war. Thus equipped, he gives us "a plain story of the sufferings and sacrifices of the Cubans for their freedom," and herein resides the chief value of the volume, intended for issue in 1898. To us Americans who have lived through a mighty war where humanity always triumphed, and where murder, rapine and arson did not follow in the path of armies, it is hard to believe that so much savagery could have been committed at our very doors during the past generation. Cuba was worked not to supply the Spanish treasury, but to enrich the officials temporarily in power there—in 1890 Pando told the Cortes of forty millions of dollars of recent defalcations. That the native Cuban, a descendant of Old Castile, should object to so many low-born Spaniards coming to despoil him, was not unnatural; but could any other of the civilized European nations have been guilty of such atrocities under the shadow of free America? And yet international courtesies in either continent must be maintained under trying conditions. All this is now past; let us look to it that our régime shall bear better fruit.

The sketches of Cuban troops and commanders, of character and manners, are interesting. The later chapters, devoted to the war, are less fresh. The graceful compliment paid to "the stupendous tasks at Santiago" and "the amazing valor of American soldiers" makes one

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overlook the wearisome flings at Shafter; and a soldier, if not a war correspondent, knows that "defined strategic rules" have often to yield to circumstances, whatever "von Moltke may have advised in 1870." The moderate criticisms passed on our War Department were penned before the Boer campaign, and Englishmen now know more about the errors of war than then. With little else to criticize, this is a thoroughly readable book.

THEODORE AYRAULT DODGE.

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COMMUNICATIONS

1. *The Commune of London.*

As the point is of real historical importance, I desire to correct Dr. Gross's statement on page 744 of Volume V., and to explain how the case stands with regard to the "skevins" of London. The communal oath which I discovered bound those who took it to be obedient "maiori civitatis Lond[onie] et skivin[is] ejusdem commune." On this I observed that

"For the first time we learn that the government of the city was then in the hands of a Mayor and *échevins* (*skivini*). Of these latter officers no one, hitherto, had even suspected the existence. Dr. Gross, indeed, the chief specialist on English municipal institutions, appears to consider these officers a purely continental institution" (p. 237).

And I cited his footnotes on "their administrative and judicial functions in continental towns." It is an essential point in my case that the London "skevins" (previously unheard of) were "skevins" of the *Continental* type, forming part of the governing body of the Commune, and were not mere gild-officers, such as were the only "skevins" known to Dr. Gross in England. The index to his book (II. 443) distinguishes clearly between the two types.

Consequently, when he charges me with error on the ground that his book "calls particular attention to the existence of *échevins* in the gilds of many English boroughs," he shows that he has failed to grasp my point that the London "skevins" were not gild-officers at all, and that their Continental character strongly favors my theory of the foreign origin of this Commune.

I am also charged by him with error in stating that the possession of a port at Dowgate (London) by the citizens of Rouen, even under Edward the Confessor, was "a fact unknown to English historians," on the ground that "a book published by the Clarendon Press several years ago" sets it forth. But Dr. Gross's book (for it is his) does not mention Dowgate; he copied from Chéruel the erroneous reading "Dunegate" (I. 292).

J. H. ROUND.

2. *Letters to Washington.*

WITH reference to Mr. Ford's statement (V. 767) that Mr. S. M. Hamilton, in his *Letters to Washington*, Vol. II., "prints no less than five letters from Bosomworth as coming from Botomworth," the latter has sent to the managing editor tracings which show the captain's autograph and Washington's indorsement. The former might be read in either way; the latter is unmistakably "Capt^{n} Botomworth." Another tracing shows clearly that the "impossible spelling" *Conogockuk* is that of the original manuscript.

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NOTES AND NEWS

Preparations for the sixteenth annual meeting of the American Historical Association to be held at Detroit and Ann Arbor on Thursday, Friday and Saturday, December 27, 28, and 29, are well under way. The American Economic Association holds its annual meeting at the same time and place; arrangements have therefore been made for a joint session of the two societies in which subjects of common interest will be discussed. This joint session will be held in Ann Arbor, probably on the second day, and a special train will be provided to take the members back and forth from Detroit. While in Ann Arbor the Association will be the guest of the University of Michigan. The present indications are that the meeting will be largely attended and that the great body of western members who often find it difficult to be present at the eastern meetings will be well represented at Detroit. Preliminary programmes will be sent out soon after the first of November.

Professor Adolf Holm, author of a celebrated history of Sicily, died at Freiburg i. B. on June 3, aged nearly seventy. He was born in Lübeck, and was a teacher in its gymnasium when he wrote his history of Sicily in ancient times. He was called to be professor of ancient history in the University of Palermo, whence in 1884 he was called to Naples. With the Cavallari, father and son, he prepared a *Topografia Archeologica di Siracusa;* and he added a third volume to his Sicilian history, bringing the narrative down to the times of the Saracen conquests. In recent years his most notable work was his history of Greece, 1886–1894, which has been translated into English.

General Jacob D. Cox, an eminent public man, an excellent historical scholar, and a frequent though anonymous contributor to this journal, died on August 4, aged 71. He was a brigadier-general during the Civil War, governor of Ohio 1866–1867, Secretary of the Interior 1869–1870, and afterward a railroad president, a judge, a law professor and a college president. Lately he had lived in retirement at Oberlin. His historical books include *The March to the Sea*, 1882; *Atlanta*, 1882; and *The Battle of Franklin*, 1897.

Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, formerly chief-justice of the municipal court of Boston and librarian of the Boston Public Library, died on June 25, aged 79. An historical scholar of remarkable acuteness, grasp and breadth, he published but one important historical book, *John Adams, the Statesman of the Revolution, with other Essays and Addresses*, 1898.

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Mr. William Henry Whitmore died on June 14. He was at one time an editor of the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, founded the *Heraldic Journal*, and was one of the founders of the *Historical Magazine*, as also of the Prince Society and the Boston Antiquarian Society. He was a genealogist of note, and published a well-known catalogue, entitled the *American Genealogist*. He also wrote *The Cavalier Dismounted; Elements of Heraldry;* and a *History of the Old State House, Boston.*

John C. Ridpath, author of a *Popular History of the United States*, 1881, and of many popular histories and text-books, died on July 31, aged 59. He was for a time professor of history at Asbury (now DePauw) University.

Professor Turner of the University of Wisconsin has gone abroad for a year; during his absence a portion of his work will be performed by Dr. Carl Russell Fish.

Dr. Herbert Friedenwald has resigned his position as chief of the manuscript department in the Library of Congress, and has been succeeded by Professor Faulkner of the University of Pennsylvania.

Dr. William E. Dodd, of North Carolina, has been called to the new chair of history and economics in Randolph-Macon College.

Dr. N. M. Trenholme has been elected professor of history at the Western University, London, Ontario.

The Macmillan Company have in press a work on *Historical Jurisprudence* by Guy Carleton Lee, of the historical department of Johns Hopkins University. It is intended to serve as an introduction to the systematic study of the growth of law, tracing the contributions made by each race to the science of jurisprudence.

One of Putnam's recent publications (London: T. Fisher Unwin), is *A Brief History of Eastern Asia*, by I. C. Hannah, the material for which was collected while the author was master of the English school at Tien-Tsin. Mr. Hannah begins with prehistoric times and, with great brevity, traces the history of the Asiatic civilizations to the present day.

ANCIENT HISTORY.

A new fascicule of the *Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum* has appeared, devoted to Himyaritic and Sabaean inscriptions.

To the May number of the *Classical Review* Mr. Thomas Ashby contributes a general account of the results of all the latest excavations at Rome.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY.

In the *Abhandlungen* of the Royal Society of Göttingen, phil.-hist. Cl., III. 3, Dr. H. Achelis has a treatise of 247 pp. on the martyrologies, their history and their historical value, and the relation of the Bollandist *Acta Sanctorum* to the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum.*

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In the *Neues Archiv*, XXV. 3, J. Schwalm publishes seventeen royal diplomas and Acta Imperii (1198–1338) discovered by him in an Italian journey in 1898; F. Philippi essays to disprove the authenticity of Norbert's *Vita Bennonis;* and K. Zeumer reduces from the tenth century to the twelfth the Alemannic code called *Jura Curiae in Munchwilare* published last year by E. Gothein.

The Ford lectures delivered in the University of Oxford in Lent term, 1900, by Mr. James Hamilton Wylie, have been published (Longmans) under the title *The Council of Constance to the Death of John Hus.*

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY.

It is announced that the first volume of Lord Acton's *General History of Modern Times* may be expected to appear this autumn, published in this country by The Macmillan Company.

Dr. H. Hüffer, who is engaged upon an extensive documentary publication of the war of 1799 and 1800, prints in the *Mittheilunges des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung*, XXI., several essays on Suvorov's campaign in Switzerland in the autumn of 1799, on which he also had contributions in the *Revue Historique* for March. It is made plain, among other things, that Suvorov knew perfectly well that the St. Gotthard road had no continuation beyond the southern end of the Lake of the Four Cantons.

Dr. Hervey M. Bowman's monograph on *The Preliminary Negotiations of the Peace of Amiens*, in the University of Toronto series, which we expect to review in our next number, is to appear shortly in French, in a translation by Lieutenant Grosjean, of the 28th Dragoons in the French army.

Messrs. E. P. Dutton and Co. have ready for publication *The Campaign of 1815—Ligny, Quatre-Bras, Waterloo*, by Judge William O'Connor Morris, who combines a narrative of the campaign of 1815 with a running commentary on the military operations.

Rand, McNally and Co. (New York and Chicago) have published *Twenty Years in Europe; a Consul-General's Memories of Noted People, with Letters from General W. T. Sherman.* The time covered by this journal is from 1869 to 1891; the author was during that time United States Consul-General to Switzerland and Italy. General Sherman was his intimate friend, and the book contains some fifty of his letters.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: J. Rübsam, *Aus der Urzeit der modernen Post*, 1425–1562 (Historisches Jahrbuch, XXI. 1).

GREAT BRITAIN.

The British Government has published *Acts of the Privy Council of England*, Vol. XX., 1590–91; *Calendar of Patent Rolls, Edward III.*, 1340–1343; *Calendar of State Papers, Ireland, Charles I.*, 1625–1632; *Historical Manuscripts Commission, Report on the Manuscripts of the Duke*

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of Portland, Vol. V.; *Report on Manuscripts in the Welsh Language*, Vol. I., Part II.; and Vol. VIII. (1598) of the *Report on the MSS. of the Marquis of Salisbury*.

Volume LXIII. of the *Dictionary of National Biography* is now published. With this volume, which extends from Wordsworth to Zuylestein, and which completes the dictionary, are published indexes for the first fourteen volumes, also an introduction giving an account of the inception of the work and its progress during the last eighteen years.

Mr. J. H. Round has in the press (Westminster, Constable) a volume of *Studies in Peerage and Family History*.

Messrs. Kegan, Paul, Trench, Trübner and Co. are to publish the essay on *England under the Protector Somerset*, with which Mr. A. W. Pollard recently won the Arnold Prize at Oxford.

The Successors of Drake, by Julian Corbett (Longmans), designed as a concluding volume to the author's *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, is in press.

The Hakluyt Society has published *The Voyage of Robert Dudley, afterward styled Earl of Warwick and Leicester and Duke of Northumberland, to the West Indies, 1594–1595, narrated by Captain Wyatt, by himself, and by Abram Kendall, Master*, edited by Mr. G. F. Warner of the British Museum (pp. lxvi, 104). Of the three narratives indicated, the first is derived from a Sloane MS., the second from the pages of Hakluyt, the third (practically a ruttier) is translated from Dudley's *Arcano del Mare*. The society has also issued *The Journey of William of Rubruck to the Eastern Parts of the World, 1253–1255, as narrated by himself, with two accounts of the earlier Journey of John of Pian de Carpine* (pp. lvi, 304), translated from the Latin and edited with great learning by Hon. W. W. Rockhill of the U. S. diplomatic service.

Messrs. Duckworth and Co. publish *A History of the Baronetage*, by Francis W. Pixley, F.S.A., registrar of the Honorable Society of the Baronetage. It appears that no history of the baronetage has previously been written. It must therefore be regarded as curious that simultaneously there should appear the first volume of a work called *The Complete Baronetage* (Exeter, Pollard) by G. E. C., author of *The Complete Peerage*. This first volume relates solely to the baronets of James I.'s creation.

The latest addition to the "Builders of Greater Britain" series (Longmans) is a volume on Sir Stamford Raffles by Mr. Hugh E. Egerton, author of the *Short History of English Colonial Policy*, reviewed in a previous issue of this REVIEW (IV. 588).

Under the title, *Our Fleet To-day, and its Development during the Last Half-Century*, Captain S. Eardley-Wilmot, R. N., has prepared a revised edition of his work *The Development of Navies during the Last Half-Century* (Seeley and Co.).

Messrs. Seeley and Co. publish *General John Jacob, Commandant of the Sind Irregular Horse and Founder of Jacobabad*, by Alexander Innes

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Shand. General Jacob's career was a highly eventful one, and is traced from his early years to his death, at Jacobabad, in 1858. Mr. Shand has had access to the papers of General Jacob, in the possession of his niece, Mrs. Jacob, of Tavistock.

Under the title of *The Third Salisbury Administration*, 1895–1900, Messrs. Vacher and Co. will shortly publish a history of the present government, by Mr. H. Whates. Several maps, and appendices containing the text of all important diplomatic documents, will be contained in the work.

Sampson Low, Marston and Co. will publish, by arrangement with the London *Times*, *The Times History of the War in South Africa*, 1899–1900. This history will be a joint production of several of the special correspondents of *The Times* in South Africa, edited by L. S. Amery, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford. The work is expected to form five royal octavo volumes of about three hundred pages each.

The American Academy of Political and Social Science has published, as a supplement to its *Annals*, a useful pamphlet of 72 pages containing *Selected Official Documents of the South African Republic and Great Britain*, edited by Messrs. Hugh Williams and Frederick C. Hicks of the Library of Congress. Here will be found the Convention of 1884, the constitutions of the South African Republic and the Orange Free State, the law of the former for the establishment of the Second Volksraad, its franchise law and the alternative proposals of the two governments for its modification, Kruger's ultimatum and England's reply, and the analogous final communications between England and the Orange Free State.

A forthcoming book, of much present interest and importance, is Mr. Alexander Michie's *The English in China during the Victorian Era, as illustrated in the Life of Sir Rutherford Alcock, K.C.B.*, who, it will be remembered, was for many years British minister in China and Japan.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: Miss E. A. McArthur, *The Regulation of Wages in the Sixteenth Century* (English Historical Review, July); R. S. Rait, *The Scottish Parliament before the Union of the Crowns*, II. (*ibid.*); B. Williams, *The Foreign Policy of England under Walpole*, II. (*ibid.*)

FRANCE.

M. Louis Clément, in an interesting thesis, *Henri Estienne et son Œuvre Française* (Paris, Picard, pp. 538), discourses upon his subject from both the historical and the literary and philological points of view.

M. Alexandre Tausserat-Radel has edited for the *Inventaire Analytique des Archives des Affaires Étrangères* two volumes of the *Correspondance Politique de Guillaume Pellicier, Ambassadeur de France à Venise* (Paris, Alcan, pp. 810), important for the history of the relations of France with Venice and the Orient from 1540 to 1542 and for the history of humanism.

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Under the title *Le Drame des Poisons* (Paris, Hachette) M. Funck-Brentano constructs, upon the basis of his researches in the Bastille papers, an interesting and authoritative narrative of the case of the Marquise de Brinvilliers and of the great poisoning cases of 1678–1682.

M. Louis Wiesener has finished, by the publication of a third volume (Paris, Hachette, pp. 503) his important work on *Le Régent, l'Abbé Dubois et les Anglais*, an elaborate examination and defence of the policy of Orleans and Dubois based on the documents possessed by the English Public Record Office and the present Earl of Stair as well as on French sources.

Though refused the use of the family documents, M. Paul Gaffarel has succeeded in making a valuable book of his *Prieur de la Côte-d'Or* (Paris, Rousseau, pp. 354), describing the activity of Prieur in the Legislative Assembly and the Convention, his work on behalf of the metric system, and especially his important labors, as a member of the Committee of Public Safety, in providing munitions of war and organizing their manufacture.

M. Charles-Louis Chassin has completed, by the issue of an eleventh or index-volume, his monumental *Études Documentaires sur la Vendée et la Chouannerie* (Paris, Dupont).

The most important recent books upon the military history of the Napoleonic period are M. Félix Bouvier's *Bonaparte en Italie*, 1796 (Paris, Léopold Cerf, pp. 745) and a new volume by M. Chuquet, *L'Alsace en 1814* (Paris, Plon, pp. 479).

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Lot, *Études sur Merlin; Les Sources de la Vita Merlini* (Annales de Bretagne, April, July); B. de Mandrot, *Sur l'Autorité Historique de Philippe de Commynes* (Revue Historique, July, September); A. Tilley, *Humanism under Francis I.* (English Historical Review, July); H. Gelin, *Madame de Maintenon Convertisseuse* (Bulletin de la Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, 1900, 4 and 5); H. Sée, *Les Idées Politiques de Fénelon* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, I. 6); Father P. Bliard, *Dubois et l'Alliance de 1717* (Revue des Questions Historiques, July); A. Cans, *Les Idées de Talleyrand sur la Politique Coloniale de la France au lendemain de la Révolution* (Revue d'Histoire Moderne et Contemporaine, II. 1); G. de Nouvion, *Talleyrand Prince de Bénévent* (Revue Historique, July, September); Général Ducrot, *M. Thiers et le Général Ducrot pendant la Commune* (Le Correspondant, May 25).

ITALY.

A new edition of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, edited by Giosuè Carducci, with as many as possible of the texts corrected by the aid of modern editions (though apparently without new collations with the manuscripts), is projected by the publishing house of S. Lapi at Città di Castello.

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The Verein für Reformationsgeschichte publishes, as Heft 65, an excellent monograph by Dr. Karl Benrath, *Julia Gonzaga, ein Lebensbild aus der Geschichte der Reformation in Italien* (Halle, Niemeyer, pp. 127), which is in a way a companion to Agostini's recent book on Carnesecchi and Valdes.

One more of the republics subsidiary to the French has found its historian, in M. A. Dufourcq, whose *Le Régime Jacobin en Italie, Étude sur la République Romaine, 1798–1799* (Paris, Perrin) is a thorough work of great value based on researches in the archives of Paris, Rome and Vienna and the papers of Berthier.

The Macmillan Company have published *The Venetian Republic, Its Rise, Its Growth and Its Fall,* by W. Carew Hazlitt. The work is in two octavo volumes, and covers the period from 421 to the fall of the Republic, in 1797; it should not be confused with Mr. Hazlitt's earlier brief *History of the Venetian Republic,* published in 1860. It is founded on that book; but it is brought down to a later time, and it is enlarged, especially by the addition of chapters relating to economic and social history.

GERMANY, AUSTRIA, SWITZERLAND.

The committee for the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica* have in press Vol. IV. of the Merovingian lives of saints, ed. Krusch, Part I. of the Carolingian diplomata, and the separate edition of Hrotsvitha. They announce the preparation of *Carmina Selecta Aetatis Romanae Extremae,* ed. Vollmer and Traube; *Liber Pontificalis, Vitae Gregorii,* etc., ed. Brackmann; Vol. V. of the Merovingian saints' lives, ed. Levison; Vol. XXXI. of the *Scriptores,* ed. Holder-Egger, comprising the Annales Cremonenses, Sicard of Cremona, the chronicle of Reggio, and Salimbene; Cosmas of Prague and his continuators, ed. Bretholz; *Leges Visigothorum,* ed. Zeumer; Vol. VI. of the *Epistolae,* comprising the letters of Abbot Lupus of Ferrières and Popes Nicholas I. and Hadrian II.; and a volume of pre-Carolingian poems and mortuary inscriptions, ed. Traube. Professor Harry Bresslau has been completing Vol. IV. of the *Diplomata* (Conrad II. and Henry III.) by a prolonged journey of research in Italy.

In the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassiche Alterthum,* VI. 3, Dr. F. Keutgen presents a valuable survey of the present state of the question of the origin of the constitutions of the German towns.

In the *Katholik* for May Dr. Kirsch publishes, for the first time from the original manuscript, Melanchthon's letter of June 16, 1525, to Camerarius respecting Luther's marriage, a letter hitherto known only in the garbled form in which Camerarius gave it out for publication.

The varying relations between Thomasius and the pietists and mystics are discriminatingly considered by Dr. R. Kayser in the programme of the Wilhelm-Gymnasium at Hamburg, *Christian Thomasius und der Pietismus* (pp. 32).

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Professor Kaufmann's *Politische Geschichte Deutschlands im neunzehnten Jahrhundert* (Berlin, Bondi), is the fourth volume of a series which purports to cover the national progress of the Germans during the last hundred years. This volume is a book of 700 pages, octavo, and deals with tendencies, processes, and results, rather than with simple facts.

In the *Deutsche Revue* for April Dr. Horst Kohl publishes a dozen letters of the finance-minister Karl von Bodelschwingh and ten letters of the minister Von der Heydt, addressed to Bismarck in the sixties. They are of considerable historical interest. In the same journal for May is printed a letter of Bismarck to Prince Reuss, ambassador in Vienna, written in 1884, and revealing Bismarck's opinion of Busch and his writings.

Messrs. Harper and Brothers have just ready a collection of *Conversations with Prince Bismarck*, translated by Mr. Sidney Whitman from several of Herr von Poschinger's books.

It will, we believe, be of use to many readers to be informed of the admirable short sketch of Austrian history which Dr. Franz von Krones has published in two small volumes entitled *Österreichische Geschichte von der Urzeit bis 1526* and *Österreichische Geschichte von 1526 bis zur Gegenwart* (Leopzig, Göschen, pp. 104, 106). The non-Austrian lands held by the Austrian crown are included.

Noteworthy articles in periodicals: F. Priebatsch, *Staat und Kirche in der Mark Brandenburg am Ende des Mittelalters* (Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte, XXI. 1); E. Daniels, *Friedrich der Grosse und Maria Theresia am Vorabend des siebenjährigen Krieges* (Preussische Jahrbücher, C. 1); R. Koser, *Die preussischen Finanzen im siebenjährigen Kriege* (Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte, XIII. 1); O. Küntzel, *Friedrich der Grosse am Schlusse des siebenjährigen Krieges und des russischen Bündnisses* (Forschungen zur brandenburgischen und preussischen Geschichte, XIII. 1).

NETHERLANDS AND BELGIUM.

The fourth volume of Professor Fredericq's monumental *Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Neerlandicae* (Ghent, Vuylsteke, pp. 553), comprises the period from 1514 to 1525. One of the most curious documents is the reprint of a rare tract by William Gnapheus, giving the examinations by the inquisitors of Jan de Backer of Woerden, a priest who had embraced Lutheranism. Students of the period will find in Professor Frederic's volumes an enormous amount of important material, much of which is from unedited sources.

NORTHERN AND EASTERN EUROPE.

Under the title *L' Odyssée d' un Ambassadeur; Les Voyages du Marquis de Nointel, 1670–1680* (Paris, Plon, pp. 355), M. Albert Vandal has described from the original documents the career of a remarkable

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ambassador who, after concluding the treaty of 1673 with the grand-vizier Ahmed Köpröli, devoted himself to an elaborate tour in Asia Minor and the Levant and Greece. The celebrated drawings of the Parthenon attributed to Carrey were executed under his orders.

The July number of the *Revue Historique* contains a summary review of Rumanian historical publications of the years 1894–1898 by Messrs. A. D. Xenopol and D. A. Teodoru.

AMERICA.

Mr. Warren K. Moorehead and others have published (Cincinnati, Robert Clarke Co.) *Prehistoric Implements*; a reference-book describing the ornaments, utensils and implements of pre-Columbian man in America. Mr. Moorehead has been assisted in his work by Professor Perkins, Drs. L. G. Yates and R. Steiner, and others, who have written special chapters. The book has 621 illustrations showing 3000 specimens.

No. 104 of the Old South Leaflets contains Jefferson's inaugural addresses. No. 105 is *An Account of Louisiana*, 1803, from a public document then printed; No. 106 is a portion of Calhoun's *Discourse on the Constitution and Government of the United States*.

The *International Monthly* for September contains an interesting article on "The American School of Historians," by Professor Albert Bushnell Hart, of Harvard University.

The extracts from the sources of American history prepared by Professor Howard W. Caldwell of the University of Nebraska are now issued (by Ainsworth of Chicago) in a single volume, which includes two series of ten numbers each, one "A Survey of American History," the other on "American Territorial Development."

Numbers 2, 3, and 4 of Volume XII. of the Columbia University Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law (Macmillan) are *Colonial Immigration Laws; a Study of the Regulation of Immigration by the English Colonies in America*, by Mr. Emberson E. Proper; *History of Military Pension Legislation in the United States*, by Mr. W. H. Glasson; *History of the Theory of Sovereignty since Rousseau*, by Mr. C. E. Merriam.

Mr. J. Henry Lea's *Genealogical Gleanings among the English Archives*, now in course of publication in the *New England Historical and Genealogical Register*, are wholly occupied in the July number with the family of William Penn. An English genealogist, Mr. William Ferguson Irvine, supplies an entry from the parish register of Warrington which may possibly record the marriage of the parents of the Rev. Richard Mather.

The United States Naval Academy, by Mr. Park Benjamin (G. P. Putnam's Sons), is mainly a history of the Academy at Annapolis, although the book gives a short description of the life and education of midshipmen before the Academy was called into existence.

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A third edition of Mr. Thomas Hudson McKee's manual *The National Conventions and Platforms of all Political Parties, 1789–1900* (Baltimore, Friedenwald Co.) has just been published. The collection is thus brought down to date.

Messrs. Little, Brown and Co. announce a *Life of Francis Parkman*, by Charles Haight Farnham, who has had much assistance from the historian's family and friends.

The Macmillan Company will publish next month *Stage-Coach and Tavern Days*, by Mrs. Alice Morse Earle.

The Helman-Taylor Co. (Cleveland) have ready *An Historical Account of the Settlement of the Scotch Highlanders in America, prior to the Peace of 1783*, by J. P. MacLean.

Mr. George Parker Winship, librarian of the John Carter Brown Library, at Providence, will shortly publish (London, Stevens) a volume of *Cabot Bibliography*, with an essay on the career of the Cabots. The book will be printed at the Chiswick Press.

Under the title of *The Fight with France for North America*, Messrs. Archibald Constable are about to publish a short history, by A. G. Bradley, of the struggle between England and France for supremacy in North America. Mr. Bradley wrote the book on General Wolfe in the series of "Men of Action."

Professor Marseille, rector of the Bismarck Gymnasium at Pyritz, Pomerania, has recently published the diary of a Hessian officer, Captain Freiherr von Dörnberg, who served in the American War, at the siege of Charleston and afterwards on the staff of General Knyphausen.

A *Life of John Paul Jones*, in two volumes, by Augustus C. Buell, has been published by Charles Scribner's Sons. Mr. Buell has discovered in Russia new material relating to Jones's services in the imperial navy.

A former number of this REVIEW, V. 290–319, contained an interesting selection from the diary of Philip Vickers Fithian, A.B., Princeton, 1772. It is now announced that the whole diary, with portions of the author's correspondence, will be published at Princeton this autumn by the Princeton Historical Society, *Philip Vickers Fithian, Journal and Letters, 1767–1774*, edited by Mr. John Rogers Williams, to whom we are indebted for the portion which we were privileged to print.

The Funk and Wagnalls Co. (New York) have published a *Jeffersonian Cyclopedia*, being a comprehensive collection of the views of Thomas Jefferson, classified and arranged in alphabetical order under nine thousand titles. The work is edited by Mr. John P. Foley.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. announce *A Century of American Diplomacy*, by the Hon. John W. Foster, formerly Secretary of State. This volume is concerned with the diplomatic relations of the United States from 1776 to 1876.

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Messrs. G. P. Putnam's Sons will publish at once *A History of Political Parties in the United States*, by the Hon. James H. Hopkins, formerly a representative from Pennsylvania. Another *History of Political Parties*, by Professor Wilbur F. Gordy, will shortly be published by Messrs. Henry Holt and Co. The Macmillan Co. announce *The American Party System from 1846 to 1861*, by Professor Jesse Macy of Iowa College.

Messrs. McClure, Phillips and Co. have acquired publication rights of a remarkable book which claims Abraham Lincoln as its author. It is a small scrap-book, compiled by Lincoln for use in the political campaign of 1858, with explanatory notes and a long letter in Lincoln's handwriting. The book was given to one of Lincoln's supporters, and it is with his sons that the present facsimile publication has been arranged.

Crane and Co. (Topeka) have in preparation the original letters and papers of John Brown and his family, and of the men who were with him in the Harper's Ferry raid, from material in the collection of the Kansas Historical Society. The book will be edited by Col. Richard J. Hinton, author of *John Brown and His Men*, and Mr. William E. Connelley of Topeka.

Dr. Thomas H. Featherstonhaugh, of Washington, D. C., is preparing a book on John Brown's Harper's Ferry raid. He has already published two interesting pamphlets of bibliography.

Messrs. Houghton, Mifflin and Co. announce *The Monitor and the Navy under Steam*, by Mr. Frank M. Bennett. The author traces the development of the navy of the United States from the battle of Hampton Roads to that off Santiago.

Recollections of a Lifetime, by Roeliff Brinkerhoff, (Cincinnati, Robert Clarke Co.) covers the last half of the present century. The author served in the Quartermaster's department during the civil war, and has been prominent as lawyer, editor and philanthropist. Among his friends were Chase, Blaine and Garfield.

An American Commoner: the Life and Times of Richard Parks Bland, by W. V. Byars (Columbia, Mo., E. W. Stephens), purports to be a study of the last quarter of the nineteenth century. It is published with an introduction by William Jennings Bryan, and Mrs. Bland has contributed her personal reminiscences.

Dr. C. L. Nichols has published a *Bibliography of Worcester: List of Books, Pamphlets, Newspapers and Broadsides, printed in the Town of Worcester, Mass., from 1775 to 1848, with Historical and Explanatory Notes* (Worcester, Mass.), a bibliographical work prepared with unusual care.

E. A. Hall and Co. (Greenfield, Mass.) have published the *History of the Town of Sunderland, Massachusetts*, including the present towns

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of Montague and Leverett, by Mr. J. Montague Smith; with genealogies prepared by H. W. Taft and Abbie T. Montague.

The *Publications of the Rhode Island Historical Society* for July contains "A Briefe Narrative of the Nanhiganset Countrey," by Francis Brinley, 1696, and a series of documents illustrating the process by which Rhode Island, after ratifying the Constitution, was adjusted into the Union. The October number contains ten letters of Roger Williams hitherto unpublished, and a list of all others that have been printed since the issue of the Narraganset Club edition of his *Writings*.

Messrs. Norman M. Isham and Albert F. Brown have brought out (Providence, Preston and Rounds Co.) a work entitled *Early Connecticut Houses; an Historical and Architectural Study*, which extends to Connecticut the plan followed by the authors in their similar work on the houses of Rhode Island.

Mr. Francis Olcott Allen has, in the publication of the first volume of his *History of Enfield, Conn., 1679–1850* (Philadelphia), contributed a welcome addition to American local history. Exhaustive copies of land-surveys and lay-outs, of town acts and votes are given. This volume includes a *Historical Sketch of the Town of Enfield*, written in 1829 by John Chauncey Pease, M.D.

An historical essay on *The Hiding of the Charter*, by Dr. Charles J. Hoadly, is announced as the second publication of the Acorn Club of Hartford.

The *Bulletin* of the New York Public Library for June contains a further installment of the letters of Jackson; that for September a very interesting calendar of the Jackson-Lewis papers. The July number prints several letters of Senator James A. Bayard, 1802–1814.

The July number of the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* is accompanied with the proceedings of the Historical Society in memory of the late Dr. Charles J. Stillé. Of the new matters in the magazine the most interesting is a small group of letters addressed to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel by one of its missionaries, the Rev. Griffith Hughes, who preached among the Welsh settlers near Radnor from 1733 to 1736, when he retired to Barbadoes. Much of the contents of the number is genealogical. There is historical as well as genealogical interest in the various lists printed—of the settlers of Darby Township from 1681, of foreigners who arrived at Philadelphia in 1791–1792, of Pennsylvania ships registered from 1742 to 1745.

Messrs. George W. Jacobs and Co. (Philadelphia) publish *A History of the University of Pennsylvania*, by Thomas Harrison Montgomery. The book covers the period from the foundation of "The Publick Academy in the City of Philadelphia" in 1749, to 1770. It presents an

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extensive array of documents and details, together with "biographical sketches of the Trustees, Faculty, the first Alumni, and others."

The Historical Society of Montgomery County, Pennsylvania, has published its second volume of *Historical Sketches* (Norristown, pp. 386), containing papers by General W. W. H. Davis on the battle of the Crooked Billet; by L. Streeper and I. C. Williams on Lafayette at Barren Hill; and other papers relating chiefly to the Revolutionary history of the region.

Messrs. Henry Holt and Co. will publish, this fall, *The German and Swiss Settlements of Pennsylvania*, by Professor L. O. Kuhns, of Wesleyan University.

Mrs. Jane Baldwin, of Annapolis, Md., will publish for subscribers *The Maryland Calendar of Wills—a ready, accurate, and complete Abstract of the Wills probated in Maryland from the Time of its Settlement, 1634, to the American Revolution.* The edition will be limited to three hundred copies.

The July number of the *Virginia Magazine of History* contains some entertaining letters written in 1781–1783 from Paris by Mrs. Ralph Izard of South Carolina to Mrs. William Lee of Virginia; an inventory of the large estate left by Thomas Lord Fairfax in 1782; a series of notes made by the late Conway Robinson from the records of the Council and General Court of Virginia, from 1641 to 1659; Sainsbury abstracts, relating to 1631 and to the attempt to revive the Virginia Company; and continuations of the Nansemond and Nicholson documents. The latter are of value for the history of the Virginia clergy. Mr. Robinson's notes present a tantalizing array of references to documents once existing but unhappily destroyed in 1865. Every part of the magazine bears evidence of the great fund of local knowledge possessed by the editor, Mr. W. G. Stanard.

The *North Carolina Historical and Genealogical Register*, a new venture among historical journals, contains in its first number an abstract of land-grants for Chowan County, extending from 1679 to 1803, abstracts of wills probated and recorded by the secretary of the colony from 1678 to 1760, and other such materials.

The *Publications of the Southern History Association*, which have now become bi-monthly, contained in the May issue the journal of Thomas Nicholson, a travelling preacher of the Society of Friends, a journal consisting of three fragments, one relating to a visit to Friends on Cape Fear in 1746, one to a journey to England in 1749–1751 and the third to a visit to the Assembly of 1771. It is the earliest of journals of Southern Quakers. A further instalment appears in the July number, and continuation is promised.

The North Carolina Law Journal contains an article entitled *North*

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Carolina and the Adoption of the Constitution of the United States, by Professor K. P. Battle of the University of North Carolina.

The *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, No. 3, (July), contains continuations of the papers of the first Council of Safety and of those relating to the mission of Col. John Laurens to Europe in 1781. It also prints two very interesting letters of Justice William Johnson of the Supreme Court of the United States, addressed to Jefferson in 1823.

The *Charleston Year Book* for 1899 publishes as an appendix the Official Correspondence between Brigadier-General Thomas Sumter and Major-General Nathanael Greene, 1780 to 1783, from original unpublished letters loaned by the Misses Brownfield and by General Edward McCrady.

Judge Bethel Coopwood's dissertation on the route of Cabeza de Vaca is continued in the July number of the *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, which also contains some characteristic reminiscences of Judge Edwin Waller of Austin.

The papers of M. B. Lamar, first president of the republic of Texas, have lately been deposited with the State Librarian, and appear to be of great historical value.

It is announced that Senator John H. Reagan of Texas, the only surviving member of the Confederate Cabinet, is writing his recollections of the Civil War.

The present month will see the dedication at Madison of the magnificent new building which will contain the library of the State Historical Society and that of the University of Wisconsin. The principal historical address will be delivered by Mr. Charles Francis Adams, president of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

The July number of the *Annals of Iowa*, contains an article upon Lincoln at Council Bluffs, in 1859, and also one upon Gen. Nathaniel Lyon.

The *Quarterly of the Oregon Historical Society*, No. 2 (June) contains a valuable article on Our Public Land System and its Relation to Education in the United States, by Mrs. Frances Fuller Victor, and a narrative of events in early Oregon ascribed to Dr. John McLoughlin and supposed to have been written by him for purposes of defence.

Professor Blake of the Territorial University, Tucson, Arizona, and geologist of the territory, is engaged upon a complete bibliography of the territory, with especial reference to the Indian tribes, cliff-dwellers, and Pueblos.

In the July–October number of the *Canadian Antiquarian and*

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Numismatic Journal the chief article is one by Mr. Justice Baby, on "L'Exode des Classes Dirigeantes à la Cession du Canada."

The Remarkable History of the Hudson's Bay Company, by Dr. George Bryce (Scribner's), is a book which has been many years in preparation. It deals chiefly with the operations of the Company since 1750, and therefore supplements, rather than rivals, *The Great Company* of Mr. Beckles Willson. A classified bibliography of literature relating to the Northwest is furnished.

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